

LEADERS OF THE MODERN WORLD

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FOREWORD

WE have learned with pleasure that our little book is to be launched in India and we hope that, by throwing some light on what is happening in the world today, it will be of service to students in that great country. Books such as this should give us a common appreciation of the problems facing our divided and distracted world. At a time when wise leadership is so vital it is hoped that the following pages will create a greater understanding of the part played by the leading men of our own day.

The authors' special thanks are due to Mr Abdul Majid Salik, who very kindly read and advised on the life of Ataturk, and to the publishers for innumerable and most helpful suggestions.

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I ATATURK



[Photo : Planet News

ATATURK

KAMAL ATATURK

Many newspaper readers must have been rather puzzled during the second week of November 1938, and for a short time before, by the increasing number of references to Kamal Ataturk, the President of the Turkish Republic, who lay seriously ill in Istanbul. His death on November 10th, filled the world's newspapers with appreciations of his great work for his country and gave him a publicity in death that he had never sought in life. The man who will undoubtedly be ranked as one of the greatest figures in the post-war world preferred to do his work unobtrusively and that work makes the achievements of men like Hitler and Mussolini pale into insignificance. For Kamal Ataturk made a nation and the story of his life is more exciting and breath-taking than any writer of fiction could invent.

The great Ottoman Empire was at its height in the early sixteenth century; from Constantinople, Sulyman the Magnificent ruled an enormous stretch of territory, which even included Hungary as a vassal state. The whole of North Africa was his, and his fleet was master of the Mediterranean sea. For one brief moment, in 1580, when his armies stood at the gates of Vienna, it looked as if western Europe itself would pass under his control. But Sulyman failed and gradually during the next 350 years the great Empire weakened and fell to pieces.

The Turks lost their energy and drive ; they became soft and corrupt and by the end of last century their Empire, or what remained of it, lay rotten and bankrupt. The powers of Europe waited like vultures to snatch what they could of the 'sick man's' possessions. Already Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria had broken away and be-



TURKISH EMPIRE ABOUT 350 YEARS AGO

come independent states ; Russia seized Ottoman land and claimed much more, France had Syria and Tunis, England took Cyprus and Egypt. Germany backed the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, in the hope of stealing a march on her rivals for power and influence. It was clear that Turkey was doomed ; the only question was how long it would be before the end came.

In the Turkish quarter of the old town of Salonika lived, in a broken down house, one Ali Riza and his wife Zubeida. They were Albanians and Ali Riza had an underpaid job in the octroi department. Zubeida, born a peasant, was ignorant and quite uneducated, narrow, prejudiced and patriotic but strong physically and possessing great vitality. To this couple was born in 1881 a son whom they named Mustafa and he grew up into a reserved, unaffectionate boy, looking more like a European than a Turk with his pale-blue eyes and blond hair. Zubeida set her heart on his being a Mohammedan priest and it seemed with her usual determination that she would get her way. Mustafa went first to a mosque school and then to a private school where he made excellent progress. But when he was nine tragedy overtook the family as Ali Riza died and they were penniless. They went to live with Mustafa's uncle, a farmer outside Salonika, and for two years the boy did odd jobs around the farm. The life made him tough and healthy : he seemed quite satisfied but he remained reserved and solitary as before. Zubeida was far from satisfied ; her boy must be something more than a mere farm-hand, and when Mustafa was eleven she persuaded her brother to pay for more schooling for the lad. So back to school in Salonika he went. He remained apart from the other pupils, joining in none of their games. He seemed to despise both them and the masters although his progress was remarkable. Though he was brilliant he was far from popular and he

was constantly at loggerheads with those in authority. From the start Mustafa seems to have been a rebel and when he was, as he thought, unjustly thrashed by a master whom he despised, he walked out of the school and refused to return.

For a boy of twelve he showed remarkable determination. Zubeida stormed at him, wept and pleaded but he refused to go back. Mustafa solved the problem of his future by himself; he got help from a neighbour, Major Kadri, and after a brief examination in which he astounded the examiners by his ability, he passed into the Cadet School at Salonika before his mother could stop him. Soon Mustafa was the pride of the school and was promoted to be a kind of under-officer. He suddenly became amenable to discipline and it was not long before he was teaching other boys. He loved this as he loved to be the central and outstanding figure. One master in particular, Captain Mustafa, was especially interested in him as he was particularly brilliant in mathematics, the subject which the captain taught. It was this master who gave him the added name of Kemal,¹ which in Turkish means 'Perfection'. So Mustafa Kemal developed and at seventeen he passed on to the Senior Military School at Monastir. Here he worked hard and read hard, a silent reserved figure as ever, rather a mystery to his companions. To their enquiries as to what he meant to do

¹ Changed later to the Turkish form, Kamal. (See page 23.)

and to be he had but one answer 'Ben olajagin' (I shall be somebody).

It must not be imagined that all the Turks viewed the rottenness of the Ottoman Empire with calmness. Plans for reform and revolution for a great cleansing and purge were many, but the fires of revolt had to burn underground. Abdul Hamid, the Sultan, had a close network of spies and any who were suspected of sedition were quickly thrown into prison. Mustafa Kemal was naturally a revolutionary; during his holidays from the college at Monastir he read, along with a companion called Fethi, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau and as much revolutionary literature as he could lay his hands on. A spice of considerable danger was added to their reading by the knowledge that if they were caught they would be instantly imprisoned. Mustafa's home life was unhappy at this time too as his mother had remarried; his step-father was a fairly wealthy merchant but Mustafa would not even speak to him as he disapproved of the marriage. At the age of twenty it was reported of him that he was 'a brilliant, difficult youth with whom it is impossible to be intimate' and his career took a new step forward when he was gazetted sub-lieutenant in the army and selected for special training at the General Staff College in Constantinople.

In this great cosmopolitan city, capital of the Empire, he lived his life at a great pace. Still carrying out his military studies with great success he led an intemperate and irregular life

and laid the foundations of much of the ill-health which troubled him in his later days. With his work at the Staff College he mingled politics. Most of the young officers were revolutionaries like himself, disgusted with the low state into which their country had fallen. There was a secret society called the Vatan (Fatherland), whose avowed aims were to overthrow the Sultan and to put a popularly elected parliament in his place. Mustafa Kemal quickly became one of the leading lights of the Vatan and when the society was disbanded by the authorities it carried on its activities outside. None worked harder for its success than Mustafa Kemal but they had underestimated the capabilities of the Sultan's spies. One night, soon after he had passed out of the Staff College, he and other members met in a café where a new recruit was to be introduced. The talk was long and heated; the recruit asked many questions and in the end revealed himself. It was as if a knife had cut across their talk: the recruit was a loyal spy of the Sultan and he invited them for a stroll. Outside the café the police received their prisoners who were quickly locked up in the rat-infested Red Prison. It was generally expected that death would be their fate, and Mustafa's mother in deepest despair, journeyed to Constantinople in a desperate effort to save her son. Mustafa Kemal had at this stage in his career one of those great strokes of good fortune which happened at intervals and which, like all great men, he never failed to use. After weeks in the

verminous prison he was called before the Pasha, Ismail Halli, and informed that because of his brilliance and youth the Sultan had been gracious enough to pardon him. He was to be sent immediately to join a cavalry regiment in Damascus, hundreds of miles from the capital. 'Take care : you will not get a second chance' were Ismail's last words and that night, without seeing his mother or his friends, he was put by the police on a vessel bound for Syria.

Ismail's last words made no impression on the young captain : but he had learned an important lesson. In future he would be less headstrong, more cold and calculating. He became, in fact, the crafty 'Grey Wolf', (the symbol carried by the all-conquering Turks in the far-off middle ages), by which name he is so appropriately known. He quickly organized a new 'cell' of the Vatan in Damascus but after a year or more he was dissatisfied and by 'wire-pulling' he obtained a transfer to Salonika which he knew was a hot-bed of revolt. Before he had been there long he was invited to become a member of the powerful organization called 'Union and Progress' which was planning a revolution. He was not at home in this : it was full of Jews and very elaborate in its ritual. Much more important, he was not a leader and he despised those who were, men like Enver and the Jew Javid. Mustafa Kemal was not one who liked to take a back seat and he freely criticized and sneered at the leaders. He became increasingly touchy and would brook no criticism even from his mother

Zubeida who continually warned him against plotting against the sacred person of the Sultan. Suddenly in 1908 without preparation or warning the revolution came. A leader called Niazi proclaimed a revolt: Enver and the others were compelled to follow, and it speaks volumes for the weak state of the government in Constantinople that the revolt succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of the conspirators. Deserted by his army the Sultan Abdul declared a constitution, dismissed his old advisers and accepted those of the committee of Union and Progress.

It seemed for one brief moment that a new Turkey had arisen, a new modern state, cleansed of its corruption. The great powers hastened to grab pieces of her Empire before she could defend them. Austria, for example, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Greece took Crete. Worse still, the supporters of the Sultan worked up a counter-revolution, rousing the people to a frenzy by playing on their religious fears. The soldiers in Constantinople were won over and rose on behalf of the Sultan. The Committee was not idle and used the troops in Macedonia against the new rebels. Mustafa Kemal was chief of staff in the army which smashed the counter-revolution, but Enver and Javid became the rulers in the new Turkey. Mustafa Kemal was sent back to his soldiering, now an important and senior Staff Officer but still a revolutionary. As the Committee proved itself incapable and especially as German help and interest were sought and paid for, Mustafa

preached his doctrine everywhere. 'Turkey for the Turks' became his watchword and he preached that doctrine of fierce nationalism which has become today one of the main problems of our modern world. He won much support, especially amongst the army officers and it is really remarkable that the government did not imprison him. They moved him about frequently but they could get no direct evidence against him. The Grey Wolf had become as crafty and cunning as his animal namesake. In 1911 he forgot his conspiracies when Italy seized Tripoli: he fought side by side with Enver there, still despising him for his spurious plans and showy methods. Worse was to follow as in 1912; the whole of the Christian Balkan States combined against Turkey and won a great victory which they partly threw away by quarrelling amongst themselves. Enver, although Turkey was beaten, showed strength, crushing internal mutinies and hanging those politicians who opposed him. Mustafa Kemal was still just a soldier, a lieutenant-colonel it is true, but a nobody. Mistrusted by Enver and those in control he was sent to Sofia as military attaché; it was in reality banishment and he knew it. Enver was at the peak of his fortunes, Minister of War with great schemes of reviving (with German aid) the forgotten power and glory of the Ottoman Empire. Then came the Great War and it was natural that Turkey should ally herself with Germany. Mustafa Kemal thought it was madness but first and foremost he was a soldier and

an excellent one. His career throughout the long years of war is, from the military point of view, one of constant brilliance.

He fought on many fronts and in many places, gaining increasing glory. He had that rare gift of inspiring men by his very presence. In the famous Gallipoli campaign of 1915 he held various commands and sharing in the dangers and discomforts of his men he set them a fine example of cool bravery. Once he was sitting outside a new trench when English shells began to fall, each one nearer than the last. His staff-officers wanted him to take cover but he refused. 'It would be a bad example to my men' was his reply, and he lit and calmly smoked a cigarette : at the last moment the shell-fire stopped and his wondering men were convinced that he was specially protected by providence. He was constantly quarrelling with Enver and the government during the war and, now called Mustafa Kemal Pasha (General), was given most trying and difficult work to do in the Caucasus and Syrian campaigns. In October of 1918 Turkey asked for an armistice ; she was utterly beaten and weary and Enver fled the country. The Germans who had been aiding the Turks had to go and Mustafa Kemal found himself in sole command in Syria. He steadily refused to give in there even after the Armistice was signed ; 'We must not cringe. If we do we shall be destroyed,' was his telegraphed reply to Constantinople when ordered to stop fighting. He returned to the capital in the November and a

heart-breaking scene met his eyes. English, French and Italian troops were in complete control in Constantinople: the Sultan and government, led by the old Tewfik Pasha, did just as they wished. Mustafa was horrified and straightway, with his prestige as a great general behind him, he tried to rouse the politicians to some action that would save their country. He argued and threatened: 'Throw Tewfik out and form a strong government that would oppose the Allies tooth and nail,' was his constant cry. But the deputies in the Parliament were afraid of him and the new Sultan Vahid-ud-Din did not trust him. Mustafa Kemal was left out in the cold—again mistrusted by everyone. He went to live in a small house in one of the suburbs (he would not live with his mother) and his only companion was a staff officer, Colonel Arif. He was helpless, mistrusted by the Turks and the Allies, spies watching his every action. It is true that in far off Anatolia revolt against the all-conquering Allies was smouldering and that the old local committees of Union and Progress were functioning again, but there appeared little hope of action.

At this point Mustafa Kemal's career took an amazing turn. His name was on the list for arrest and yet, largely owing to the persuasion of Damod Ferid, the Grand Vizier, he was actually appointed Inspector-General of the Northern Area and Governor-General of the Eastern Provinces and given the job of stamping out any signs of revolt in Anatolia! On May 19th,

1919, he landed with two or three companions at the port of Samsun on the Black Sea : his life's work was just about to begin. Full of renewed energy he first made his position secure with the skeleton Turkish army which remained and then slowly won over their commanders to his point of view. He was very crafty : he was not planning a revolt against the Sultan, he said, but saving him from the enemies in whose hands he was an unwilling prisoner. Having won over the army he toured the country preaching resistance against the accursed foreigner and by his passionate oratory he roused the people from their dull lethargy. Naturally the Allies objected, and the Sultan, scared and frightened by the new turn of events, recalled Mustafa to Constantinople. The reply might have been expected : 'I shall stay in Anatolia until the nation has won its independence.' The Inspector-General was now a rebel and he put the position clearly before his followers, 'We shall have to face great risks and make great sacrifices. Once started no one must desert, no one look back or regret.' All decided to back him up on the one condition that whatever happened the Sultan should not be harmed. The Grey Wolf gladly made the promise ; whether he could keep it depended on circumstances.

With great difficulty, overcoming jealousies and divisions, he established his leadership over the military commanders at a conference at Erzerum and then at a great national congress at Sivas he was elected Chairman of the executive

committee of the new Government they then established. The Sultan tried to control the revolution. He ordered national elections in which the Congress Party swept the country and the delegates from Sivas, now the legal rulers of the country, set out for Constantinople. Mustafa Kemal was wiser ; he did not go. The Congress Party proudly defied the Allies and the English naturally took action. They occupied the capital with troops, arrested and deported the leading 'Nationalists' (as the Kemalites were called) and closed the Parliament. The Sultan, determined to re-establish his authority, got together a force called the 'Caliph's Army' to deal with the Kemalites. Turkey was now torn in two by a horrible civil war. Flogging, hanging and brutal torture were the order of the day. Mustafa's face grew grey and lined for his troops were failing ; in Angora, his capital, ill and tired, he smoked incessantly, working, planning, scheming. Slowly the tide turned ; the nationalist spirit rekindled in the Turks and they saw that Turkey would never be free until the foreigner was ejected. Mustafa Kemal had been right after all. A new Parliament, representing the whole of the country, met at Angora, voted themselves the legal government of Turkey, and made Mustafa Kemal their President. Soon the new government had the backing of the whole of Turkey, for the Allies, sitting at the Peace Conference in Paris, published a Peace Treaty for Turkey called the Treaty of Sèvres. If the terms took effect Turkey would be dead, a tiny

country controlled in every possible way by foreigners. The civil war stopped as if by magic ; Turkey determined to resist to the death. The Allies in Paris were in difficulty : Mustafa Kemal and his rebels defying the great powers of Europe had to be taken seriously. Who was to crush them? Only one country was willing to act. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, had waited years for the opportunity. So, backed by Allied money, the Greeks joyfully set about their task. For nearly two years the war raged on and many times the Greeks came near to victory. But Mustafa Kemal was fearless, and with whirlwind energy he fought and talked. Much talking was necessary as many of the Turks wished to make peace when things were not going well. A great victory in August 1921, after 14 days of continuous fighting near the Sakaria River, which left the Turkish leader completely tired out, was the turning point of the war. He was the hero of the country, *fêted* and praised by all. He was given the additional title of Ghazi, which means 'Destroyer of the Infidels'. It was a year later in August 1922 when Kemal gave his historic order, 'Soldiers, forward ! Your goal is the Mediterranean,' and drove the Greeks back on to Smyrna and out of Anatolia. Soon an armistice, then a peace, was arranged and before long Turkey was freed of the English, French and Greeks. The Ghazi was all-triumphant. Even in the moment of his conquest he was calm and clear and refused to be tempted by any dreams of reviving the Ottoman

Empire. Turkey was to be made into a small compact nation--prosperous and self-sufficient---and he alone could do it. One wonders if in the moment of his triumph he remembered his boyish ambition at the Cadet School almost 20 years before, 'Ben olajagin' (I will be somebody).

There were many who were determined that the successful Ghazi should not become a permanent dictator. The Assembly was still sitting at Angora and the most favoured plan for the future of the now free and independent Turkey was that the Sultan should rule as a constitutional monarch with Mustafa Kemal as his Prime Minister. But Grey Wolf had other plans although he kept them secret. All the trappings of the past including the Sultan and Caliphate must go; Turkey must be a modern westernized republic. These plans were so revolutionary, touching so much that all Turks held dear and sacred that Mustafa dared not mention them even to his closest friends, but they knew what was in his mind. Within a week luck was with the Ghazi. The English foolishly sent an invitation to the Sultan Vahid-ud-Din to a peace conference at Lausanne and the Assembly at Angora was beside itself with rage at being thus ignored. Feeling ran high and Mustafa seized his chance; although many of the members were against it, backed by his supporters with revolvers close at hand, he forced through a law abolishing the Sultanate. A few days later Refet occupied Constantinople in the name of the Assembly and two days after, following a vain appeal to the English

for protection and help, the Sultan Vahid-ud-Din left his palace in an ambulance, en route for a British battleship and safety. His nephew, a harmless creature called Abdul Mejid, was made religious head in his place, Caliph of all the Faithful. Part one of Grey Wolf's plan had succeeded but he knew that it had been a near thing. He set to work at once and out of the various local Committees which he had created in 1919 he built a strong political party, the People's Party, loyal to him alone. A representative had gone to confer with the English at Lausanne—Ismet was slow, cunning and deaf and had been more than a match for the high-handed Lord Curzon, so that the conference had broken down. Mustafa Kemal's enemies in the Assembly attacked him for this and Rauf, the Prime Minister, resigned. Ismet was sent back to Lausanne to succeed; Grey Wolf knew that soon he must assert his ascendancy over an Assembly which became more truculent every day. He induced the cabinet to resign at a moment when his personal popularity was high through Ismet gaining nearly all that Turkey asked for at the renewed conference at Lausanne. Then when the Assembly was in a thorough tangle it begged Mustafa to form a new government. His reply was 'I decide that Turkey become a Republic with a President', and when he was made its first president he was in reality almost a complete despot—President of the Republic, of the Council of Ministers, of the Assembly, of the People's Party and

Commander-in-Chief of the Army. In March 1924 he tore Turkey away from the past when, after a display of brute force against his opponents, he abolished the Caliphate. He stood absolutely supreme in Turkey now; his last ambition was realized.



TURKEY AFTER THE GREAT WAR

Then came reaction. Ill again, unhappy in his home life (he had married Latifa after his victory over the Greeks in 1922), his mother, the one human being whose advice he would ever listen to, had died and he had terrible fits of depression. He could solve the problem of Latifa very quickly, as he simply wrote out and signed a decree of divorce. But his depression could not

be so easily dealt with ; he plunged into intemperate habits once again. Then he changed completely. One attempt was made to murder him with bombs and another with poison. He retired from public view ; no one without a permit was allowed near his house and he never moved outside without a strong bodyguard. Opposition was growing ; the people were in poverty such as had never before been known in the land, a poverty inevitable in a country which had been so ravaged by war. In March 1925, the Kurds, a tribe living near the Persian frontier, revolted. 'Down with the Infidel Republic of Angora and long live the Sultan and the Caliphate' was their battle-cry. The Grey Wolf roused himself with a snarl from his lethargy. In two months he crushed the revolt with a strong hand. Slaughtering and burning, his men laid waste the land of the Kurds. Mustafa, with terrific energy, demanded, and obtained, from the Assembly absolute powers as dictator. In 1926, clever as ever, he struck at those leaders of the opposition who had given him trouble, many of them his old friends and supporters. Among those condemned to die for treason was Arif, once his bosom companion ; and the night when the eleven executions took place under the glaring arc lamps in the great square at Angora, Mustafa gave a dance at his villa four miles away by way of celebration. Turkey lay in his hands now to mould as he would ; he was all-powerful, absolute despot, responsible to himself alone.

'I have conquered the enemy. I have

conquered the country. Can I conquer the people?' Thus did Kemal himself pose the question. He was fully determined to westernize his people, to cut them off from the past, to conquer illiteracy. He started, peculiarly enough, with clothes and particularly the fez which he called 'a sign of ignorance'. At first he tried persuasion but the Turks, most of them good Moslems at heart, refused to give up the fez. But Grey Wolf was not to be defeated even in a little thing like that. The Assembly passed, at his command, a law forbidding the wearing of the fez. Simple countrymen going to the towns found their fez knocked by policemen from their heads. Angry crowds stoned government officials; the Grey Wolf snarled again. There were a few hundred beatings, shootings and hangings and soon every man in Turkey obeyed the law. He wore a hat of some description—even women's summer hats were worn—anything was better than the displeasure of the Ghazi! When he closed the monasteries and rid Turkey of the dervishes not a voice was raised in complaint. He early realized that his great hope lay with the children: if he could educate them then his battle was won. He made many changes to bring Turkey into line with Europe; the Metric system and the Gregorian calendar were introduced. Foreign experts were brought in to plan new towns and buildings. The mud-swamps around the little country town of Angora were drained and thirteen million pounds were spent in an attempt to make it into a modern capital. Industries were slowly

introduced: foreign goods were kept out and 'Turkey exclusively for the Turks' was the cry. But still Mustafa saw that education was the key of the future. In November 1928, he insisted that Roman letters and numerals should be used by everyone. He himself took the lead and began with a big meeting in the former Sultan's palace. Here, with the aid of a blackboard, he explained the new method of writing to Assembly deputies, authors, state officials and teachers. He then travelled the length and breadth of the land, giving instruction personally in village and small town market squares. Thus did he drive his people along the path he had chosen for them. Architecture, music, literature, all were introduced in western form to the wondering Turks. He insisted on modern ball-room dancing being popular, gave balls himself where all the guests were forced to dance! Women were freed and made to take part in public life—they became lawyers, doctors, public officials, and even members of the subservient Assembly.

In 1929 despite his efforts, things were not going too well. The government was over-spending, the cost of living had gone up, the new reforms had offended many—the blind loyalty to the Ghazi was coming to an end. Mustafa had, in fact, tried the curious experiment of creating an opposition party in the Assembly to criticize the government but naturally it had been a failure. The criticism was too pointed and too near the mark. There was another Kurdish revolt which had to be put down with great severity. Since

then things have gone better but the experiment of the 'official' opposition was quickly dropped. Turkey needed the strong guiding hand of her creator. 'For ten or fifteen years more I must rule,' he said in 1932. 'After that perhaps I may be able to let them (the people) speak openly.' And as a sign of their gratitude the Assembly asked him, when he decreed that in future every Turk must have a family surname after the western fashion, to call himself 'Ataturk'—Father of the Turks. At the same time he changed his Arabic name of Kemal to the Turkish form 'Kamal'.

His foreign policy during his regime has been fairly easy to understand. As long as Turkey was left alone to pursue her destiny all has been well. He has obtained financial help from the U.S.S.R., (which must be friendly because Constantinople is its only outlet to the Mediterranean), from Italy (which wants Turkish support in the Mediterranean) and more recently from Great Britain (which sees in Turkey a possible balance against growing Italian power) and Germany (which is making a determined effort to dominate the trade of South East Europe). Turkey has no desire to obtain new territory for herself: Kamal Ataturk set his face against that from the beginning. He has, however, re-fortified the Dardanelles and although in doing so he has broken the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, the powers in Europe have made no protest since they desire Turkey's friendship.

So Grey Wolf's work is finished. For a few years before his death he lived as an absolute recluse in his villa at Chan Kaya, 'the most inaccessible public character in Europe'. He played poker with his friends yet it was his hand which controlled the state he had created. Unlike the other dictators his name could not be coupled with any particular economic doctrine; he leaned neither to the Right nor to the Left. His policy from the beginning has been 'Turkey for the Turks'. His methods have been ruthless; he has thrown overboard his masters and friends for the sake of his motherland. His private life has often been not according to our moral standards, yet he has been both architect and builder of a nation. The whole of that nation mourns his death for he has been a real 'Father' of the Turks. He once remarked to the British Ambassador 'When I die there will be a thousand men to replace me' and the Ambassador with true tact but with much truth, replied, 'Your Excellency exaggerates a thousand times'. What the future holds for the state which Kamal created is in the womb of history. On Friday, November 11th, the Kamutay, or Grand National Assembly, elected General Ismet Ineunu (known for years as Ismet Pasha) as the second President of the Republic. He played a great part in the fighting against the Greeks and has been one of Ataturk's right hand men since those days when success had not yet been achieved. From 1925 to 1937 he was Prime Minister of Turkey and if any man could know

Kamal's mind he is that man. Time will show whether he will follow his ruthless master's steps and lead the people of Turkey to the day when they will be able to rule themselves. For that seems to have been the aim of the most complete dictator in the post-war world.

II

GANDHI



[By permission of 'The Times of India']
GANDHI

MAHATMA GANDHI

If all the leaders written about in this book were to meet, the strangest figure would be a small, emaciated, bespectacled Indian, clad in a simple loin-cloth of white handspun khadi cloth, whom millions call the Mahatma, the Great Soul. Few would deny him a place among the great men of his generation, for he has consecrated his life to the single-minded pursuit of an ideal, for which he has been prepared to sacrifice reputation, comfort, health, and even life itself. Like our other leaders, he has sought to make his country great and respected, but what a contrast between his ideals and methods and theirs ! For he rejects the materialism of Western civilization, and has practised and preached the pure doctrine of Ahimsa, or non-violence. In this he claims to follow the teaching of Jesus Christ who said, 'I say unto you that ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also'.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2nd, 1869, into a well-to-do family. His grandfather had been Diwan, or Prime Minister, of the small State of Porbandar, but had to flee to a neighbouring State. Brought before the Nawab he saluted with his left hand, explaining that 'the right hand was already pledged to Porbandar'. Mohandas' father, Kaba Gandhi, was also Diwan of Porbandar, and showed the same

independence of character. His mother, Putlibai, was a strict Hindu. Once she took a vow to fast every day for a certain period until the sun shone. It was the middle of the rainy season and whenever the sun appeared the children would rush in to tell her to hurry out, but if it had disappeared, she would say, 'God does not wish me to eat today'.

It was a great disappointment to his parents that Mohandas showed no aptitude for passing the very modest examinations necessary for a post at the palace, but they soon found that he had a will as independent as their own. From an early age he showed an iron determination to follow the inner voice of Conscience, and he never told an untruth. The Gandhi family belonged to the Bania branch of the Vaishya or middle class caste, and it was soon impressed on the boy that while he must pay every respect to the Brahman priests and aristocracy, and even to the warriors of the Kshatrya caste, he must not mix with the Sudras, and on no account pollute himself by touching a member of the outcaste Untouchables. One day, he deliberately touched an outcaste, and neglected to purify himself. At the age of twelve he took a solemn vow to labour for the Untouchables, and to make their cause his own.

He never forsook the Hindu religion, and eventually accepted the division of Hindus into three broad castes, but he denied that any one caste was superior to another. To him the humble services of the Sudras were just as

dignified as the skilled work of the Brahman. And to him there were no Untouchables. These were the descendants of the conquered peoples, who did the menial work. They were not allowed to enter Hindu temples; they must not use the same water supply or send their children to the same schools as caste Hindus. In Southern India their very shadow caused pollution and they shouted a warning of their approach in the streets.

Another rule that Mohandas began to question was the prohibition of meat-eating. For a time he was tempted by a school friend to cook and eat meat in secret, but he soon tired, not merely of the taste of meat, but of hiding the practice from his parents, and he remained a complete vegetarian ever after. The rule of Ahimsa forbids the destruction of life of any kind.

Like many boys, Mohandas also for a time took to the secret smoking of cigarettes, to buy which he even stole a piece of gold from his brother's armlet. Conscience tormented him until at last, afraid to speak, he handed a written confession to his father who lay seriously ill. 'Tears like pearl drops trickled down his cheeks, wetting the paper. For a moment he closed his eyes in thought and then tore up the note. I also shed tears when I saw my father's agony.' Mohandas had expected angry words and even a beating, and this was perhaps his first lesson in the wonderful power of 'non-violence'.

The time came when Mohandas, at the age of thirteen, was married to a girl of the same

age, called Kasturibai. It was a great family occasion, for his elder brother and a cousin were married the same day. Mohandas enjoyed the fine dresses, the music, and the gaiety, but most of all, this shy boy welcomed the companionship of a girl who looked up to him and did not laugh at his ideas. Throughout long years of separation and struggle, Kasturibai remained his most faithful companion and friend, sharing with him every hardship and happiness.

Kaba Gandhi died, and the boy's prospects became so poor that his family consulted a wise old Brahman, who advised sending the boy to England to study law. Mohandas, eager to see the world, seized on the idea, but there were three obstacles: his mother, his caste and the cost. Putlibai, thought that in England he would be tempted to drink, smoke, eat meat and live an unworthy life. She only gave way after her son had taken an oath before a Jain monk to do none of these things. Then the elders of his caste warned him that if he crossed the seas he would lose caste. It was of no avail, so Mohandas sailed for England an outcaste for life, and anyone who saw him off was to be fined one rupee four annas.

He landed at Southampton on a September Sunday in 1889. The citizens in their sober black must have raised their eyebrows at the young Indian who had landed in his best white flannel suit. He was desperately anxious to be at home in this strange country. In London he bought a fashionable suit of clothes, and

stayed in an expensive hotel until an Indian friend found him rooms in a private house. He bought a violin and began to take lessons in music and dancing, French and English. His ear could not follow Western music nor his feet English dances. At last he cancelled the lessons and sold his violin. His excellent English owes nothing to lessons in elocution.

Living on borrowed money he soon found it necessary to economize by taking a room and looking after himself. He bought a stove and prepared his own meals, for few London restaurants catered for vegetarians at that time. He managed to live and thrive on 1s. 3d. a day.

Gradually he made a few friends who widened his experience. Asked about the Bhagavad Gita he had to confess that he had never read it, but soon the Divine poem became for him 'the supreme book for the knowledge of Truth'. Next he was introduced to the Bible. The Old Testament did not interest him, but he was delighted beyond measure with the majestic simplicity of the Sermon on the Mount : 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you.' His imagination fired, Mohandas began to realize the truth in the old Hindu saying, 'There is only one God, but there are many paths to him.'

After three years he passed his law examinations and returned home. At Bombay bad news

awaited him : his mother, aged little more than forty, had died, and his brother had been dismissed from his post by the British Political Agent. Mohandas had met the Agent in England, and with some misgiving went to plead for his brother personally, without avail. He found himself one of many briefless young lawyers in Bombay, and even when a client did appear, he was so nervous when he stood up in Court that he could not utter a word or question, and fled in despair.

At last his brother obtained for him a chance to go to South Africa to help an Indian firm which was engaged in a big law suit. Eagerly he grasped the opportunity, and in 1893, still dressed in his frock-coat, he landed at Durban.

There were as many as 80,000 Indians in South Africa. The first ship-load of Indian labourers arrived in Natal in 1860, in order to cultivate the sugar, coffee and cotton plantations which the native Kaffirs refused to do. These Indians were 'indentured' for five years, after which they were allowed to stay in Africa or to return to India. Their wages were small, but even so, with their one meal a day and few wants, they could save and often set up shops or farms of their own which soon rivalled those of the white man. Their population increased rapidly, and soon they spread into the Boer States from Natal. When gold was discovered at Johannesburg, Indians joined in the gold rush and thousands worked in the gold and diamond mines.

At last British and Boers began to pass laws which put a good many restrictions on the Indians. They must not move from one State to another without a permit ; they must not own land or houses. Some wanted the Indians expelled altogether.

Mr Gandhi soon found that Indians in South Africa had not the same freedom as in England. The Durban magistrate made him take off his turban in Court ; soon after his arrival he was forcibly reminded that Indians must walk in the street and not on the pavement. Then came a journey by train to Pretoria. He bought a first-class ticket, but refusing to buy the usual bedding for the night journey he had to spend a cold winter's night at a lonely station. On the coach journey to Johannesburg he was made to sit outside, so as not to mix with the white passengers. He had great difficulty in finding an hotel in Pretoria which would take in an Indian.

He soon found a comfortable home, and every morning he walked past the plain house of President Kruger, where the old man often sat reading his Bible or talking to all and sundry. One morning a new sentry on duty outside the house watched the young Indian lawyer approach along the pavement, and promptly pushed him into the street. An English friend saw the incident and offered to act as a witness if Mr Gandhi prosecuted the soldier, but the Indian replied : 'I have made it a rule not to go to Court in respect of any personal grievance.' The sentry apologized.

A year passed, and still the law-suit dragged on. Mr Gandhi began to realize that his client and his opponent would probably ruin each other in the law courts, and after great efforts he persuaded them to accept arbitration. The arbitrator decided in favour of Mr Gandhi's client, but knowing that the loser could not afford to pay as much as £37,000 at once, Mr Gandhi prevailed on his client to accept payment in instalments. The result was a great source of joy to him. 'I had learnt,' he says, 'that the true practice of law is to find the better side of human nature, and to enter men's hearts.' His fame as a peace-maker spread, and he has since settled hundreds of disputes out of court.

In 1885 President Kruger approved a law compelling every Indian in the Boer States to register and pay a tax of £25, later reduced to £3. In 1896 Mr Gandhi was about to make a speech to a party of friends who had gathered to bid him farewell, when he was shown a newspaper which stated that all Indians in Natal were to lose their vote. He decided to stay in the country and became the leading spirit in drawing up a petition against the Bill, which was withdrawn.

After six months in India, arousing public opinion there to support the coming struggle in South Africa, Mr Gandhi returned to Durban, this time with Kasturibai and their two children. His return was not welcomed by the European population, who regarded him as a dangerous agitator. There was a riot when he landed,

and his life was saved only by the courage of the Police Superintendent's wife, and the cleverness of the Superintendent, who smuggled him, disguised as a policeman, through a mob clamouring for his life. When Mr Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Minister, ordered the prosecution of the leaders of the mob Mr Gandhi again refused to take any action.

When war broke out in 1899 between Britain and the Boers, everyone expected the Indians to stand aside and use the situation to their own advantage. Mr Gandhi, however, had a different idea. 'What little rights we retain,' he said, 'we retain because we are British subjects. If we desire to win our freedom, here is a golden opportunity to do so by helping the British in the war by all the means at our disposal.' So even though he thought justice to be on the side of the Boers, he persuaded the Indians, none of whom knew how to use arms, to form an Indian Ambulance Corps, over 1,000 strong. Their work was mentioned in dispatches, and the leaders, including Mr Gandhi, received war medals.

After the British victory Mr Gandhi, who had won considerable fame as a leader, and prosperity for himself at the bar, returned to India, thinking that his work in South Africa was finished. Soon, however, the British Government, in order to limit the number of Indians flocking into Natal, ordered every Indian to register, either by signing his name or by giving his finger print. Mr Gandhi hurried back and for a time persuaded the Indians to register

voluntarily, hoping the government would begin to improve the bad conditions under which Indians had been living. In 1905 bubonic plague broke out among the workers in the Johannesburg mines. Mr Gandhi cycled to the spot and, helped by a few friends and a doctor, placed all those with the plague in a vacant shed, probably saving the city from a terrible catastrophe.

This incident won Mr Gandhi the friendship of Mr Henry Polak, who introduced him to a remarkable book by John Ruskin called *Unto This Last*. Reading it, he became convinced that 'a life of labour—i.e. of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman—is the life worth living'. Next morning he began to consider how to put this principle into practice. A year earlier he had started a newspaper called *Indian Opinion*. He wrote articles for nearly every issue and became an excellent journalist, learning, he says, that the true aim of journalism should be *service*.

This paper was becoming expensive, so in 1905 he bought a 100-acre farm at Phoenix, near Durban, had the paper printed there, and made Mr Polak editor. Gradually he built up a little community of people who wished to share his ideal of 'plain living and high thinking'.

In 1906 the Zulu 'rebellion' broke out, and once more Mr Gandhi formed an Ambulance Corps of which he became leader, wearing khaki. His heart was really with the Zulus, and most of his work was in nursing them. For his services he was given another war medal.

In August 1906, the Transvaal government issued orders for every Indian to obtain a Registration certificate which must be carried about, so that a policeman could demand to see it at any time. The Transvaal was still under British rule, and Mr Gandhi went to England and persuaded the government to veto this order, which was known as the 'Black Act'. Soon afterwards however, the Boer States were given self-government, and the Act was put into force. In addition, the poll-tax of £3, which General Smuts had promised would be removed, still remained. Another new law said that non-Christian marriages were illegal, which meant that Hindu and Mohammedan children could not inherit their parents' property.

Mr Gandhi decided to fight with a weapon so novel that a new name had to be coined,—*Satyagraha*, meaning 'Soul force', or 'the force of Truth', commonly known in English as 'passive resistance' or 'civil disobedience'. Practically none of the Indians registered, and at last all the leaders, except Mr Gandhi, were brought to trial and ordered to leave the Transvaal. When they refused they were imprisoned, with hard labour. Then the Indian mine-workers went on strike. The mine-owners cut off their light and water supply, and Mr Gandhi decided to lead them into the Transvaal to Phoenix Farm, thus disobeying the law against moving from one province to another without a permit. The men and their families, some five to six thousand in all, were wonderfully brave

and well-behaved, but in the middle of the night after their entry into the Transvaal Mr Gandhi was arrested. The labourers continued their march under other leaders, and at last the government broke the strike by sending the men back to the mines and surrounding them with barbed wire.

General Smuts, the Boer leader, was genuinely anxious to come to an agreement with Mr Gandhi. He tried to make his prison life less irksome by giving the Indians better food, and sending Mr Gandhi books to read. The latter on his part knitted the General a pair of slippers. At last the two men met, and it was agreed to repeal the Black Act if the Indians would register of their own free will. On the day appointed, Mr Gandhi was hurrying to give his own finger prints at the head of the list when a Pathan, Mir Allam, one of many who thought he had betrayed the Indians, struck him on the head and nearly killed him. When he recovered consciousness he insisted on signing the register first, and that Mir Allam should be released. The Pathan became Mr Gandhi's faithful body-guard.

General Smuts was unable to persuade the government to repeal the Act. The bad treatment of the Indians continued and public opinion everywhere was aroused. On August 16th, Mr Gandhi held a mass meeting in Johannesburg and thousands of registration certificates were burned in a cauldron. Again he was sent to prison. Victory, however, was at hand.

General Smuts could not go on fighting an opponent whose followers were prepared to suffer hardship without resistance. A commission was appointed, the £3 tax abolished, Indian marriages became legal, and so great was Mr Gandhi's triumph that people began to say that he had discovered in Satyagraha 'the moral equivalent of war'. But in August 1914, as he sailed up the English Channel, wondering if Satyagraha would ever have to be introduced into India, he heard that Europe was at war.

Again Mr Gandhi supported the British Government. 'It is our duty to win their help,' he argued, 'by standing by them in their hour of need.' The faults of British rule, he said, were due to bad officials, and not to the British Constitution, to which he claimed to be absolutely loyal. After a serious illness he travelled about India to bring his knowledge of conditions up to date. His family were entertained at the Ashram of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, and soon the boys under his care began to imitate the simple life of Mr Gandhi, cooking their own food, and doing all their own housework. Through the influence of Gokhale he was provided with a modest living from the funds of the Friends of India Society, though he was not a member.

After the death of his great leader Gokhale, Mr Gandhi established an Ashram of his own which overlooked the cotton mills of Ahmedabad, in his own country of Gujarat. Here a growing number of followers gathered, living as

one family, and having their meals in a common kitchen. Needless to say difficulties arose. A crisis developed when an honest untouchable family was admitted, Mr Gandhi adopting the little daughter as his own. At once people stopped giving money to the Ashram and a day arrived when they were without funds. The next morning a stranger stopped his car outside the Ashram, placed 13,000 rupees in Mr Gandhi's hand, and drove away.

His next adventure was in Champaran, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the peasants were forced to plant three out of every twenty acres with indigo. When he was ordered to leave the district he refused, and eventually was allowed to stay and investigate the ryots' complaints. For weeks he and a staff of helpers examined, and even began to educate, the innumerable peasants who came to give their statements. At last the government appointed a Commission, on which Mr Gandhi served, and within a year the '*tinkathia*' system was abolished. While in Bihar, Mr Gandhi opened primary schools in six villages to teach the children of the uneducated peasants 'not grammar, so much as cleanliness and good manners'. The peasants had no idea of looking after their bodies. Kasturibai asked some women why they did not wash their clothes. One of them took her into her squalid hut and said, 'The sari I am wearing is the only one I have. How am I to wash it? Tell Mahatmaji to get me another and I will promise to bathe and put on clean clothes every day.'

By 1918 the Great War had reached its most critical point and Mr Gandhi was invited by the Viceroy to a War conference in Delhi. He attended on condition that the Ali brothers, the Moslem leaders, were released from gaol. Asked to support the resolution appealing for Indians to join the army he spoke one sentence in Hindustani: 'With a full sense of my responsibility, I support the resolution.' It was the first time anyone could remember India's own language being spoken at such a meeting. Yet that one sentence, and his tour of the country as a recruiting sergeant, dressed once more in khaki, puzzled the peasants and his friends who knew how passionately he hated force and bloodshed of any kind. Though he wore himself out with long journeys and speeches, there were few recruits, and when the Armistice was signed on November 11th, he was dangerously ill.

India had given valuable help to the Empire during the War and in return the British Government promised self-government to India. In 1919 an Act was passed, based on the Montagu-Chelmsford report, which introduced many changes into the administration of the country. These reforms did not satisfy the majority of Indians and in many places rioting broke out. To preserve order in Bengal, the government passed the Rowlatt Act, giving the police power to imprison people without trial. Mr Gandhi longed to challenge the Act, but his doctor told him that he could only become strong enough for active work again by taking eggs or milk.

He refused both, but Kasturibai cleverly suggested that he might drink *goat's* milk. Full of foreboding he agreed, and was soon in active service again. In a dream one night he had a vision which told him what to do. The whole of India should hold a '*hartal*', a day of mourning, fasting and prayer. Together with the Moslem leaders, and some of the ablest men in India, such as Tilak and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the latter a popular, cultured and widely travelled aristocrat, yet dignified as a Roman Senator, he planned a programme of 'non-violent non-co-operation', with Swaraj as their aim within a year.

This was the first time Mr Gandhi had attempted Satyagraha against British rule generally, and he started with characteristic thoroughness. There was to be a complete boycott of foreign cloth. For a long time Mr Gandhi had believed in the old Hindu doctrine of Swadeshi, which means that one should as far as possible live one's life in, and satisfy one's wants from, one's own neighbourhood or country.

Such is Mr Gandhi's 'nationalism', which is yet so different from that of Hitler or Mussolini. For more than two centuries, he argued, India had been obliged to accept a foreign language and education, and foreign machine-made goods. These things, admirable as they might be for Westerners, were fatal to the ancient spirit of India, especially the introduction of industrialism, which made Indians poor and lacking in independence and manliness. Therefore it was

a duty to boycott all foreign goods and English schools. The Indian peasant must be educated or take to the spinning wheel again, manufacture khaddar, and wear that alone for his simple loin-cloth and cap. 'If not a single article had been brought from outside India,' wrote Mr Gandhi, 'she would to-day be a land flowing with milk and honey.' His aim was that every village should be as self-supporting as possible.

To many this idea sounded absurd, and when crowds began to burn all the foreign cloth they could get hold of, including exquisite fabrics of great beauty and value, and to molest those wearing foreign dress, the poet Tagore protested. His ideal was to bring West and East more and more together by education and exchange of goods, not complete separation. He publicly warned Mr Gandhi that these bonfires would lead to violence, and that the movement for Swaraj was becoming too materialistic. 'The starving masses of India,' replied the Mahatma, 'need invigorating food before poetry.'

On August 1st, 1920, the day when non-co-operation began, Mr Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy declaring, 'I can retain neither respect nor affection for a government which has been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend its immorality'. He returned all his war medals, and requested the summoning of a Round Table Conference where Indian and English leaders could meet as equals.

Events moved too quickly for a peaceful

settlement. In Delhi the police fired on a procession, and when Mr Gandhi tried to go there he was refused permission and arrested. The news so roused the fury of the people in Amritsar and Bombay that rioting broke out, and in Amritsar General Dyer ordered the troops to fire. Mr Gandhi returned to Bombay in time to see policemen killed and many buildings in flames. Four months later some police were done to death by a mob in Chauri Chaura, shouting the Mahatma's name. In Malabar a terrible rising of Moslems against Hindus resulted in large numbers being killed.

It was clear that India was not ready for Satyagraha, and Mr Gandhi at once called off the campaign. It must have been the bitterest blow of his life, but he took his full share of the blame. As a penance he undertook to purify himself by a complete fast for five days. When the Indian National Congress met at Amritsar he was severely criticised for having surrendered just when the government was on the point of giving way. But he refused to join in the execrations of General Dyer.

Congress was determined to start a new campaign of civil disobedience. They adopted almost completely the cardinal points of Mr Gandhi's teaching as their programme. First, untouchability must be removed. Secondly, Hindus and Moslems must work peaceably together. Thirdly, Indian women must be freed from their seclusion, and child-marriage must be ended. Fourthly, drugs such as alcohol and

opium must be prohibited. Finally, hand-spinning and weaving must be re-started on such a scale that India could do without foreign cloth. At first Mr Gandhi had difficulty in finding anyone who could teach the use of the old spinning wheel, but by 1933 his All-India Spinners' Association had established hand spinning and weaving in 7,000 villages.

The five points of Mr Gandhi's programme may be likened to the fingers and thumb of a hand, the whole being pledged to the vow of Ahimsa.

While Mr Gandhi was trying to establish a more peaceful atmosphere he was again arrested. When he was brought into the Ahmedabad court, accused of writings and speeches likely to cause 'disaffection' to the government, the whole court rose to its feet. The Mahatma pleaded 'Guilty', and said, 'I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it. The only course open to you, Judge, is either to resign your post or to inflict on me the severest penalty.' The English judge spoke with equal dignity, and after passing sentence of six years imprisonment he added, 'If the course of events in India should make it possible for the government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I.'

For two years Mr Gandhi was in Yeravda jail. He occupied his enforced leisure in reading, and writing books, including his autobiography, *My Experiments with Truth*. He was, he said, 'as happy as a bird'. Meanwhile the

moderate Indian leaders decided to co-operate with the government, and took their seats in the Legislative Council. In 1924 the Mahatma was released, after he had just undergone a serious operation for appendicitis performed by an English doctor.

While the other leaders were debating and scheming, the five points of the Congress programme were being forgotten. Fighting broke out between Moslems and Hindus, and Mr Gandhi called a conference of leaders of every shade of opinion to promote Hindu-Moslem unity and abolish untouchability, and fasted three weeks as a penance for the sins of the people. The rioting ended at once, as the whole community became anxious for the Mahatma's life. When the 21 days came to an end the Indian leaders gathered as though in homage to a king, while he pleaded with them to lay down their lives if necessary for the cause of unity, toleration, and the untouchables.

By 1927, however, things seemed to be worse instead of better and the government appointed the Simon Commission to report upon further reforms.

This step was taken largely at the suggestion of the new Viceroy, Lord Irwin, a man whose religion and simplicity were as real as those of the Mahatma. A new spirit of friendship developed as Lord Irwin went out of his way to meet the Indian leaders. But this spirit was almost destroyed when it was announced that no Indian was to sit on the Commission. At once Congress

replied that they would boycott its work. Some leaders demanded that the States of the Indian Princes and British India should be joined in an 'All-India Federation'; others that India should at once be given self-government, like a Dominion. The younger leaders wanted revolution and complete independence. Who was there to lead India as a whole in this crisis? Instinctively men's gaze turned to the Mahatma. After his election as President of the Congress he was again in the front line of politics, and he at once threatened civil disobedience unless the government accepted the demand for Swaraj by December 31st, 1930. He wrote to Lord Irwin demanding the abolition of the salt tax within ten days, and a reduction of the income-tax by half.

On April 16th, he made his famous march to Dandi and broke the salt law by manufacturing salt from sea water. Millions joined the boycott of foreign cloth and other goods; liquor shops were picketed, and taxes were not paid. The police could deal with rioting but they were powerless over the thousands who were convicted for passive resistance and went cheerfully to jail. Trade came almost to a standstill, and the government revenue fell by over £10 millions.

On May 5th, Mr Gandhi was again imprisoned in Yeravda with many other leaders. While the Congress leaders were in prison the Round Table Conference in London could not claim to represent all India.

And then a sort of miracle happened. Lord

Irwin released Mr Gandhi from prison unconditionally. Would the Mahatma persuade Congress to call off Satyagraha and join the Round Table Conference? Eagerly, and in the teeth of much criticism in England, Lord Irwin granted his request for an interview. The chances of an agreement were slight, for Mr Gandhi demanded the abolition of the salt tax and an enquiry into police 'atrocities', while Lord Irwin was determined to persuade the Mahatma to accept the British scheme of an All-India Federation with a Federal Parliament elected by the Indians, but with finance, police and other important matters still under the Viceroy's control. For several days these two men, the tall, deeply religious Viceroy, and the diminutive khaddar-clad Mahatma, met in long discussion. One such day was Mr Gandhi's day of silence, and the Viceroy's room was littered with written questions and replies. On another day a secretary found the Viceroy earnestly explaining the Greek text of the Sermon on the Mount.

The physical endurance displayed by a man weighing under 100 lbs was amazing. Night and day were spent in meetings with the Viceroy and his own committee and walking the five miles between his own and the Viceroy's residence. A moment arrived when all seemed hopeless, and Lord Irwin appealed to Mr Gandhi as man to man to drop his demand for a police enquiry if the salt tax were abolished. The personal touch won, and though it took some time to

persuade his committee Mr Gandhi was able to sign the Delhi Pact, by which civil disobedience was ended. Congress could now send representatives to the Round Table Conference, and after much hesitation Mr Gandhi decided to go to London himself.

It was 45 years since his first landing at Southampton. This time he reached Folkestone clad in his white loin-cloth and cloak. In London he lived at Kingsley Hall in the East End, far away from St James' Palace where the Conference met. The long meetings bored him, and more and more of his time was spent among the children of the neighbourhood who called him 'Uncle Gandhi'. He gave interviews to innumerable visitors, and visited Canterbury, Oxford University, Eton College and Manchester, making speeches. This work, getting at the heart of the English people, was to him more important than the Conference. The other Indian leaders began to dominate the Conference, and in its final decisions Mr Gandhi had little share. While others were working out details of the scheme for an All-India Federation, he insisted that in any elections that were held the untouchables should vote along with the caste Hindus.

As the conference drew to a close the important question became : 'Is Mr Gandhi going to drop passive resistance and co-operate with the government in the new reforms?' He continued to make many friends among the ordinary people ; he also visited Buckingham Palace and

talked with King George V. He even had a friendly meeting with his old opponent General Smuts, once a Boer rebel but now a distinguished imperial statesman.

When the final session arrived, and Mr Sapru appealed to the Mahatma to let bygones be bygones and follow the path of co-operation he talked at length about the virtues of Satyagraha, merely saying, 'I do not want to break the bond between Britain and India, but I do want to transform that bond'. On the very morning that he last walked into the palace, where the final speeches were made amidst a scene of great splendour, it was announced that the new Viceroy Lord Willingdon had issued ordinances for Bengal which permitted the death sentence without trial by jury, and allowed fines to be inflicted on whole villages. Replying to the long periods of the Prime Minister, Mr Macdonald, Mr Gandhi spoke for two minutes. He did not mention the Ordinances, but uttered the significant words, 'It may be we have come to the parting of the ways.' He left England on his day of silence. Passing through France and Italy he met his biographer, M. Romain Rolland, and wandered spell-bound through the Sistine chapel in Rome. Here he had an interview with Signor Mussolini.

In India he found that the Delhi Pact had been broken by both sides, and when he asked Lord Willingdon for an interview it was refused. Almost immediately civil disobedience began again, and Mr Gandhi was sent back to Yeravda

jail. Never was a man more relieved to be free from politics and violence. From prison he wrote to thank his little friends, the children of the East End of London, for their gifts.

A third Round Table Conference was meeting in London, and it was announced that the untouchables were to have separate votes and representatives in the Provincial Assemblies. On March 11th, 1933, Mr Gandhi wrote to the Secretary of State for India of his burning disappointment, saying that unless the untouchables voted with other Indians he proposed to fast 'unto death'. The fast began on September 20th. Soon the Indian leaders met at Yeravda jail, and after four days, when the doctor was becoming anxious, an agreement was reached. Mr Gandhi continued to fast until September 26th, when the government agreed to the new arrangement, and even then he remained in prison, attended by his wife. During his fast many Hindu temples had been thrown open to the untouchables, but when he heard that they were being closed again he decided to fast again for three weeks. Immediately he was released, and civil disobedience was called off, but the Mahatma went on with his fast. It seemed a miracle that his frail body survived the ordeal, but its effect was profound.

In 1935 Parliament in London passed the India Act which was to take India a stage nearer Swaraj. The Princes and the Moderates had decided to accept the new reforms, but for a long time it seemed probable that the Congress party

would boycott the elections and so make the new reforms unworkable. At last, however, they decided to put forward candidates, and in some provinces they gained a majority, and thus for the first time assumed real responsibility. In the last few years, while India has apparently begun to follow the path of co-operation, Mr Gandhi has devoted himself more to his work as a social and religious reformer. He realises that he has not converted India to his creed of Ahimsa, yet in a world where force still reigns no one can accuse its most famous 'pacifist' of cowardice or lack of patriotism. In April, 1931, he was threatened by a mob of young Communists in Karachi. 'You say,' he said to them, 'that I have betrayed India. I shall not complain if you beat me, I have no bodyguard. God alone keeps vigil over me. Some think me crazy and a fool because of my love for my enemies, but that is the very foundation of my life's work and creed. I have no weapon against you except love.' As for patriotism, he once wrote, 'In seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. Patriotism based on hatred killeth, but that based on love, giveth life.'

The Mahatma still remains the power behind Congress, and in these days when world events seem to depend so much on the incalculable actions of a few powerful personalities, it is possible that he may yet again be called upon to speak as the voice of India.

III

HITLER



[Fox Photos

HITLER

ADOLPH HITLER

Among the millions of brave men who bled and suffered in the trenches during the Great War 1914-18, was a young Bavarian private called Adolph Hitler. He was born in Austria in 1889 and was the son of a minor customs official who for most of his life went by the name of Schicklgruber. Fortunately for his youngest son, he had his name changed to Hitler. The father was rather a drunkard, and wished Adolph to become an official, but the son, longing to be free to do as he liked, and encouraged by his mother, had ideas of becoming a painter. At the village school he was interested in three subjects only, History, Geography and Art. One day he was studying a map of Europe when the boys began to tease him. 'I am wiping out the German boundaries,' he cried in anger, 'and making them larger.'

When he was twelve his father and mother both died suddenly ; their plot of land was sold, and with very little money the boy went to Vienna to become a student at the Academy of Art. He was rejected, 'and at once,' he writes, 'I realized that I must one day be an architect.' Vain ambition for a poor boy. And so, filled already with a vague hatred of the mysterious forces which stood in his way, he became a house-painter's assistant.

The workmen of Vienna were always talking about Socialism and of a Jewish-German Socialist called Karl Marx, who had spent his life in urging the workers of all countries to organize and unite for a workers' revolution, and overthrow the wealthy property-owners, as was done in Russia by Marx's follower, Lenin, in 1918. The Socialists, or Communists as they were often called, hated religion, because, they said, the Churches taught the people to be content with their miserable lot in this world. Hitler was horrified at such talk, for he had been brought up a devout Catholic, in a country where every hill-side had its crucifix. He refused to join his Trade Union and became a 'Christian Socialist'. He also began to read anti-Semitic books, until one day he met in the street two Jews from Eastern Europe, complete with caftans and sidelocks. Suddenly, he writes, he felt a great loathing of this race which seemed to control the newspapers, the theatre, the banks and business, art, literature and science. All the evils of the time seemed to be due to their greed and cunning.

Two years later, in 1912, he moved to Munich, in Germany, and when he heard of the outbreak of war, he tells how he went down on his knees and thanked Heaven, and at once volunteered as a private in the German army. At the front he had the dangerous job of carrying dispatches. He rose to be a corporal, and was awarded the Iron Cross for bravery. In 1918 he was badly gassed and was still in hospital, nearly blind,

when he heard the awful news of Germany's defeat.

The contrast between the dazzling heroism of the German warriors who had almost beaten the rest of the world, and the realities of defeat, stamped itself for ever on Hitler's vivid imagination. At the armistice Germany surrendered all her aeroplanes and guns and most of her fleet.

A year later the German Government was summoned to sign the Versailles Treaty. The terms included the surrender of :

Her best coalfields, Alsace-Lorraine, the Ruhr, the Saar, Upper Silesia and the Polish 'corridor' ;

all her colonies, which were handed over to the victors to be ruled as 'Mandates' under the League of Nations ;

her navy and most of her merchant ships, some of which still sail under the British flag.

Her army was to be limited to 100,000 men ; the Rhineland was to be occupied for 15 years by the Allies, and never to be re-occupied by German troops. Worst of all, perhaps, Germany had to acknowledge herself to be solely guilty of causing the War.

In reparations to the Allies, Germany was to pay the fabulous sum of £1,000 millions. Unable to find the money she had to pay in goods such as coal.

No wonder the Republic which had to accept such terms was never able to win the support of the German nation. In 1922 Germany could

not pay her reparations and the French army, including colonial troops, occupied the Ruhr coalfield. The German workers refused to hew coal for France. The German mark, usually worth about a shilling, suddenly collapsed. 'A gramophone, in a shop at 10 a.m. cost five million marks, but at 3 p.m. it was twelve million marks.' The middle-class people found that their money was practically worthless.

In 1919 Adolph Hitler was back in Bavaria, where he became a political instructor among the soldiers, to stop the spread of communist ideas. Part of his work was to report to the authorities on the political discussions which flourished in the beer-halls. One evening he attended a meeting of the 'German Labour Party', which had six members and 7s. 6d. in funds. Hitler was so impressed that he became its seventh member, and soon its secretary and orator.

In Germany public speaking has rarely been considered so important as in countries used to democracy, but Bavaria in 1920 was on the verge of revolution and political speeches often took the place of the orchestra in the Munich beer-halls, where most people spent some of their evenings. 'Hitler talked himself to power.' From the very beginning he realized the effect on most people of dramatic ceremonial. Amidst strains of martial music he would march quickly and alone to the middle of the platform, deliver the 'Nazi' (National Socialist) salute, and begin. Although not gifted with a fine resounding voice like Mussolini he never failed to cast his magic

spell over a German audience, except that sometimes he would refuse to speak at all if he sensed anything unusual or antagonistic. His first sentences were jerky and guttural, but as the tide of emotion swelled within him his voice would rise into a shrill scream, and for hours he would stir up his hearers into a torrent of passion. His speeches never followed a clear line of reasoning, and he relied on the effective device of constantly repeating his meaning in simple and violent language. Addressing his audience by the familiar 'Thee' and 'Thou', he would ask: 'Who and what has brought us to this misery?' First, the Jews, who have most of the good jobs and the money. Second, the Treaty of Versailles, and the countries behind it, France in particular, who have squeezed Germany dry and prevented her recovery. Third, the Socialists and Communists who, incited by Bolshevist Russia, weaken Germany by preaching 'class-war', and prevent people from working too hard. Lastly, Democracy, which has split Germany into an endless number of parties, everybody arguing and nothing being done.

By the time the French invaded the Ruhr, Hitler's National Socialist Party had thousands of followers, and a flag designed by the Leader, with a red background, standing for socialism, a white circle, representing the nation, and the 'Swastika', as a symbol of the superior virtues of the tall and fair Aryan-speaking race.

Three months after solemnly promising the Bavarian government not to attempt a revolution,

Hitler and the popular ex-marshal Ludendorff appeared in the largest Munich beer-hall, and called on everyone to seize the government and march on Berlin. Thousands did march, but they were fired on by the police, and Hitler and Ludendorff were laughed at and put in prison for awhile. There Hitler wrote his remarkable autobiography, *My Struggle*.

Meanwhile a national leader arose called Gustav Stresemann, a big man with immense courage. He persuaded the French to leave the Ruhr, and the British and Americans to lend Germany money wherewith to restart her industries. In return, he promised that Germany would go on paying reparations, would accept for ever the new Rhine frontier, and would join the League of Nations. The Locarno Treaty of 1924, by which France and Germany promised not to attack each other was guaranteed by Britain and Italy.

The worst was over, people thought, and for four years Germany and the world seemed to be recovering. By 1929 German industries were producing more goods than before the War. Unfortunately many of her great factories, as well as the blocks of flats and playing-fields where the youth of Germany were growing up so splendidly, were built on money borrowed from the United States of America and England. For years the world's farmers and factory workers had been producing so much more food and goods that prices began at first slowly, and then very rapidly, to decline. The countries

that owed money, Germany especially, had to export more and more goods to pay their debts, and this sent prices down still further. In 1929 America experienced a business crash, and began trying to recall her loans to Germany and Austria. The Austrian and German banks at once collapsed, and by 1931 there were six to seven million unemployed in Germany, mostly young men between sixteen and thirty-two years of age. Hopelessly they turned to the magic of Hitler's oratory.

Hitler had learned his lesson in 1923. Whilst writing and thinking in prison he decided that the only way for the Nazis to win power was by educating the masses. 'The people,' wrote Goethe, a great German philosopher, 'have a child's mind.' And so Hitler, who had now been joined by a small but very clever doctor of philosophy called Goebbels, and a former pilot in the air force called Goering, devised a 25 point programme and began to create the most efficient system of propaganda the world has ever seen. Perhaps the most effective propaganda was his own book *My Struggle*. It is very long and rambling, and bitter throughout. Its constant theme is intense hatred of everything non-German, and intense love of everything German. It made a direct personal appeal to the young Germans who had hoped for so much from the free republic, and had gained nothing but freedom to starve.

In this book Hitler admired the Allied method of propaganda during the War, which pictured

the 'Huns' as utterly cruel and devilish. The method he adopted was to lay the burden of all that is wrong on your enemy, 'even if this does not correspond with the true course of events'. The 25 points were constantly repeated, and driven home in a multitude of speeches all over Germany. Germans everywhere, said Hitler, including those in the ex-German colonies, must be united as never before. All unearned incomes must be abolished and war profits recovered. Merely lending money for interest was an evil Jewish practice. While private ownership of industry and land was to remain, the large industries were to hand over part of their profits to the State. The regular Reichswehr army was to be replaced by a national army of the people. Finally, no Jew was to be a German citizen, or hold any kind of public office. The noble German, said Hitler, is apt to be careless about money-making, and so the Jews, who number less than 5 per cent of the population, have all the best posts.

But Hitler did not rely on mere oratory. Wherever the Nazi leaders went they left behind small groups of ardent followers who donned the Brown Shirt uniform. Hitler could never have risen to power without this private army which broke up his opponents' meetings, and spread terror by their 'beating people up' and making them drink castor-oil. The Nazis were now being supported by a number of business leaders, as the most likely way of defeating Communism.

When the Economic Crisis of 1929 and 1930 spread over the world, Stresemann, who had

ruined his health in restoring Germany's credit, was dead, and the new Chancellor, Dr Brüning, had to face the problem of seven million unemployed, innumerable prosecutions for debt, and property being sold for a fraction of its normal value. The old President Hindenburg, most famous of German War generals, was now eighty-five, and so surrounded by army generals who hated the Republic that he was quite out of touch with the country. The story is told that when Hindenburg saw a vast parade of Nazi Storm Troops in Berlin he turned to his son and said, 'Son, I did not know we had captured quite so many Russian prisoners.'

Brüning made himself unpopular by dissolving the Reichstag, imposing extra taxes and cutting down incomes and the social services by decree. At last he decreed that the Nazi Brown Shirt troops should be dissolved. His doom was sealed when he proposed to settle the unemployed on the large Prussian estates, many of whose landlords were bankrupt. At this point the Army leaders persuaded Hindenburg to dismiss Brüning. For a year the Army and landowners tried to rule, but Chancellors von Papen and Schleicher had no hold on the country. At the 1931 elections the Nazis polled nearly 14 million votes, and became the largest party.

At the 1932 elections it seemed that all parties had tired of voting, for even the Nazis lost two million votes. At last, however, the old President was forced to see Hitler, who after much secret bargaining agreed to become Chancellor

in a mixed government of Nazis and Conservatives. It was thus 'A sign from Heaven', as he himself said, when just before the elections in February, 1933, the Reichstag building was set on fire and burnt to the ground. At once the Communists were held responsible.¹ Their 100 deputies were arrested, and the country was swept with such a wave of terror that Hitler was able to shake off the Conservatives, abolish the Weimar Constitution, and become dictator for four years.

From the beginning, Hitler's aim was clear : to unify and strengthen Germany as never before, so that when the right moment came she could extend her territory in Europe and regain her lost Empire.

His first action was to abolish all other political parties, so that when elections were held people could merely vote 'for' or 'against' the Nazi party. Even moderate men, corresponding to the leaders of the Opposition in the British Parliament, were put into concentration camps, where they often received terrible harsh treatment. As in Italy, the Trade Unions were abolished and their funds seized.

The Jews became the special object of Nazi cruelty. No one can deny that there was a very real Jewish problem in Germany. One out of every twenty people in Germany, half the lawyers,

¹ At the subsequent trial of the Communist Leaders, they were acquitted. Much evidence has come to light to suggest that the Nazis, to screen themselves, made use of a half-witted Dutch youth, Van der Lubbe, who was executed for starting the fire.

half the doctors, and a great proportion of the University teachers were Jewish. The Jews practically controlled the Press and the educational system, and they held many of the highest posts in Government administration. It suited the Nazis to say that the Jews were agents of Bolshevism, but if they owned so much property it is difficult to see why they wanted a revolution to abolish private property. The Nazi solution to a problem demanding time, wisdom and moderation was to condemn the Jewish community in Germany to one of the worst pogroms in the history of this unfortunate race. No Jew could be a German citizen and no German could marry a Jew. Jews holding posts as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers and teachers, were dismissed in thousands. No German doctor could attend a Jewish patient. Nor did the anti-Jewish feeling subside after the first wave of persecution. In November, 1938, a German official was shot in Paris by a desperate Jewish exile. Terrible riots at once broke out all over Germany. Jewish synagogues, shops and houses were burnt down, and Jews were arrested in thousands and taken to the dreaded concentration camps. Hundreds preferred to commit suicide. The Government inflicted a fine of £80,000,000 on the Jewish community, and nothing at all was done to prosecute those responsible for the awful damage in the rioting. Jews were forbidden to drive cars, to walk in certain streets, and to visit theatres, cinemas, and public bathing places. Outside one town a notice

was placed which read 'No Jews or wandering animals allowed'.

At last Hitler was able to drive the Jews entirely out of trade and the professions, leaving them little to do but to starve. There are still 500,000 Jews in Germany, and so many have fled the country that their fate has become an international problem. Perhaps Germany will one day realize that by driving out scholars such as the great mathematician Einstein, and many of her best doctors, architects and writers, the real loss is her own.

Another problem has been religion, for a Nazi could hardly believe in a Faith whose founder and apostles were Jews. The real Nazi religion is worship of the Fuhrer, and of the tall and fair Aryan-speaking race, the purest of whom are thought to be the Nordics of Northern Europe, especially the Germans. The deification of Hitler, who in personal appearance is short and dark, may seem strange, but dictators are often men of very different race from the masses they rule, as, for instance, Stalin and Napoleon I. Religion and education must, said Hitler, serve as propaganda for the Nazi State. They must convince every German that the Nordic race possesses all the great virtues, and that other countries, jealous of Germany's greatness, forced the Great War upon her, robbed her of her colonies, and are determined to keep her down. If war is necessary to make Germany great once more, then war, he said, will be a noble thing. Both the Protestant and Catholic Churches,

especially the latter, protested vigorously against this worship of 'false gods'. It is impossible to be a good Nazi and a good Catholic, and the Nazi youth are taught to say 'We want no other God than Germany'. The religious struggle remains a perpetual source of weakness to Hitler, who should know that powerful Emperors, and even the mighty Bismarck himself, had to give way to the Catholic Church.

'He who has control of the elementary schools for five years is established in power for ever.' The Nazis have given Germany a most efficient system of education, the aim of which is quite frankly to turn out millions of young Germans with wonderful bodies and with characters stamped all in the same mould. From the cradle upwards every child is taught to accept Hitler's authority without question and to pray for his safety. In history lessons children are taught that the Germans owed nothing to Roman and other civilizations, that France has always been Germany's deadly enemy, and that, as Mussolini has said, 'War summons up the highest virtues of the human race'.

Every German boy has to go to work under military discipline for six months in a Labour camp, and girls have to learn how to run a house and to rear children, for the Nazis believe that a woman's place is in the home. Boys in a Labour camp are occupied with either manual work, organized games or lectures from 5 a.m. to bed-time at 10 p.m., so that no time is left for a boy to think for himself. It is said that 13,000

camps are so organized that every boy in them is doing the same thing at the same time. All over Germany one frequently comes across troops of bronzed young men of fine physique, singing as they march along, with spades slung across their shoulders. They supply the Government with an enormous quantity of disciplined labour at the cost of 1 mark a day.

The wireless, the press and the films are also used for propaganda in a way unheard of in any country except Russia. No journalist dare write who is not on the Government's approved list, and the newspapers have to confine themselves to news which Dr Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister, approves. For instance, President Roosevelt's message to Herr Hitler on September 28th, 1938 was not printed in any German paper. On the other hand, the German press seizes every opportunity of convincing Germans that the democratic countries are decadent and anti-German. It would be rash indeed for any German to be found not listening to the frequent propaganda talks on the wireless, and prosecutions for listening in to forbidden foreign stations are frequent.

The result of such constant propaganda has been to produce a generation of young Germans burning with a desire to restore their national greatness—a generation which has never known the realities of the last war, and which will not recoil from war if the Leader should call them to it.

Hitler himself is a soldier and delights in great

mass military displays. He rose to power through the possession of a private army of Storm Troopers led by reckless free-booters such as Captain von Röhm, who had done more than anyone to help Hitler to power. Once in power, however, he began to restore the importance of the regular Reichswehr army, and the Storm Troopers became jealous and discontented. Men who rise to power through violence and revolution nearly always have to get rid of their former extreme supporters, and on the night of June 30th, 1934, Hitler and his picked Black Shirt Guard pounced upon and slaughtered in cold blood at least 150 people in various parts of Germany, including Röhm, General von Schleicher and his wife, and many of Hitler's best known lieutenants. Explaining his action to the Reichstag, Hitler talked vaguely of a 'plot', and said 'For six hours I was the supreme court of the German people'.

The 'clean-up' of June 30th paved the way for the abolition of the Brown Shirt troops, and the introduction of conscription—Hitler's first defiance of the Treaty of Versailles—in May, 1935. Every young man has to serve for two years in the army, and take the oath of loyalty to the Leader. Hitler has created an army far mightier than that of the Kaiser in 1914, and in addition General Goering has built up a 'ruthless' air force at the rate of 300 war planes a month. A new and modern navy has also been started. Making all allowance for the fact that for fifteen years France, Russia, and other

countries had been training their conscripts in the most modern methods of warfare, the might of Germany is probably greater than that of any other single country.

But though the German government seems, in the words of General Goering, to think that 'guns are more important than butter', the Nazi government has found it more difficult to make Germany prosperous than powerful. It is true that all outward signs of labour discontent have been removed by forcing the unemployed to work on such public works as road-making, at a wage of about 6*d.* per hour for an eight-hour day, and by bringing together workers and employers in the Labour Front. Nearly every worker belongs to this remarkable organization. Every factory has its committee of workers, with the employer in the chair. The employer must produce his balance sheet of profits or losses if a worker demands to see them. If a worker thinks he has been unjustly treated or insulted, a Court of Honour is held, before a Government judge. And if strikes by workers are illegal, so are lock-outs by employers. Great progress has been made in organizing cheap travelling facilities for the workers, much the same as in Russia. Cheap seats are often reserved for workers at the theatres, and famous orchestras are sent to play in the factories.

Sport for the people is more highly organized in Nazi Germany than anywhere, and even a University student must pass certain tests in physical prowess before taking a degree. No

wonder German athletes were so successful in the last Olympic Games, to the delight of the Fuhrer, who was observed to frown whenever a German competitor was beaten. Sport has become a matter of national prestige.

Yet, in spite of this outburst of energy, the fact remained that out of the 34 raw materials necessary for a country to live, Germany had only two—coal and potash—in sufficient quantities. With a sublime contempt for realities, Hitler had decreed that Germany must learn to be self-sufficient—a possible ideal, perhaps, for an Indian village, but certainly not for a country about to launch an armaments campaign. The impossible task was given to Dr Schacht, one of the cleverest financiers in the world. First of all, German scientists were encouraged to make substitutes for many goods. 'Sugar was made from sawdust, gasolene from wood and coal, clothes from chemical fibre, tyres from reclaimed rubber, margarine (and petrol) from coal.' Perhaps the best comment on these efforts is the story of the German who boasted at the foreign office that he had bought a substitute raincoat. An official at once gave the order 'For Heaven's sake send somebody to keep him out of the rain, at all costs'.

In the last resort, then, Germany depends on acquiring foreign markets for her goods, and sources from which to obtain raw materials. This urgent necessity has largely decided Hitler's foreign policy.

Hitler's foreign policy has been marked by

a series of well-timed thrusts against the Treaty of Versailles. In October, 1933, Germany left the League of Nations. Next came the Conscription decree in May, 1935. The year 1936 saw the re-occupation of the Rhineland, the taking over of her rivers by German troops, and the return to Germany of a Saar coalfield after a 'plebiscite'. More dramatic still was the march into Austria in 1937, followed by the seizure of the Sudeten German part of Czechoslovakia in October, 1938.

In almost every case his methods were the same : a promise not to interfere ; subtle propaganda in the area concerned to create a state of disorder, so that the 'persecuted' Germans might appeal to the Fatherland, and then a sudden rattling of the sword until success was achieved. In almost every case, it is said that he acted against the advice of his army leaders, who realized that the army was not ready for war. Hitherto he has been able to rely on the feeling among many people, especially in England, that Germany *had* been badly treated, and though Hitler was breaking all rules of international conduct in seizing what he wanted by force, it was not worth a war to resist him.

As an Austrian, Hitler longed to join the small impoverished state of Austria to the Fatherland. He made a serious mistake in 1933 when his over zealous supporters tried to bring about this object by murdering the Austrian Chancellor, Dr Dollfuss, but the Austrians rallied round his successor Dr Schuschnigg, who clung to

independence even if it meant starvation. In 1936 Dr Schusschnigg and Herr Hitler made a treaty in which the latter promised always to respect Austrian independence. On February 15th, 1937, Hitler summoned Dr Schusschnigg to an interview, forced him to appoint several Nazis to his cabinet and to release Nazi prisoners, but still professed no intention of annexing the country. Dr Schusschnigg then announced a plebiscite in which Austrians were to vote for either independence or union with Germany, but before it could be held, German troops were in Vienna, and Dr Schusschnigg now languishes in prison, awaiting his trial for 'treason'.

Another statesman to give up his post was the British Foreign Minister, Mr Eden, who said 'Agreements that are worth while are never made on the basis of a threat, nor in the past has Britain been willing to negotiate under such conditions'.

The events of the Czech crisis of 1938 show plainly how Hitler's demands grew in proportion to the weakness of opposition. It is well known that the 3½ million Germans who were handed over to the new State of Czechoslovakia in 1918, originally wished to join with Austria, but were forbidden to do so by the Allies. For a time they were badly treated by the Czechs, who had previously been under their yoke, but at no time was their lot as bad as that of 'minority' races in Germany and elsewhere.

While he was occupying Austria, Hitler gave a clear promise not to interfere with Czecho-

slovakia. Even though the Sudeten Germans and the Czech government had come to a deadlock, and the English government had sent out Lord Runciman to try and bring about an agreement, the Sudeten leader, Herr Henlein, did not demand complete independence for the Sudeten Germans until after his visit to Herr Hitler. The more the Czech government gave way the greater became the demands of the Sudetens, inspired by Hitler. At last the Czechs prepared to fight for their existence, and when Mr Chamberlain flew to Germany on September 15th, Herr Hitler was quite prepared for a world war unless the Sudeten districts were handed over to Germany immediately. When Mr Chamberlain returned to Germany a second time, prepared to arrange for an immediate transfer, he was astonished to find that Herr Hitler's demands had increased and that an ultimatum with a time limit was to be handed to Dr Benes, the Czech President. Just when another world war seemed certain, and the British navy had been hastily mobilised, Hitler invited Mr Chamberlain to a third meeting at Munich, and this was attended by Signor Mussolini and M. Daladier, the French Prime Minister. It was agreed at Munich that Germany should occupy the Sudeten territory zone by zone during the first fortnight of October. The Munich agreement was a great personal triumph for Herr Hitler, for he had bluffed the whole world while his own generals warned him that Germany had no hope of winning a war against the other countries

combined. On October 6th, he spoke to a great crowd in Berlin, and said that Germany had no more territorial ambitions in Europe, that the days of crisis were over, and that the important task for Germany now was to advance the welfare of the people at home.

The previous evening Dr Benes, one of the greatest living democratic statesmen, had broadcast his resignation and gone into voluntary exile with the simple words—'History will judge'.

As soon as the crisis was over Herr Hitler intensified his propaganda for the return of the ex-German colonies, though he has been careful to say that there will be no war about that. When, however, certain well-known British politicians stated that Germany should no longer be allowed to gain her ends by threats, Herr Hitler replied, 'However friendly to Germany Mr Chamberlain and M. Daladier may be, it is possible in democratic countries for them to be overthrown at elections, and succeeded by leaders, such as Mr Eden or M. Blum, who desire to attack Germany. Therefore, Germany must be armed to the teeth', and so the mad race in armaments continues, unless and until the agreement reached at Munich is widened into a bigger settlement. Even if Germany were given back all her colonies they would provide her with very few of the raw materials she needs, and therefore Hitler continues to dream of a German control over central and south-eastern Europe, and possibly of conquering the rich lands of the Russian Ukraine.

A dreamer and a visionary : such is the man in

whose hand lies the peace of the world. Therein lies his power, for he is prepared to plunge the world and himself into oblivion in order to satisfy his dreams. While his Black Shirts were murdering his old friends on June 30th, 1934, he was listening to music, remote from all the brutality. So clearly does he identify himself with his country, so great is his belief in his own sincerity, that the crowds he holds in the hollow of his hand cannot realize why foreign nations do not trust his word as much as they.

In private life he is intensely lonely, and lacking in ordinary human relationships. He is not married and, unlike Mussolini, has no sons to carry on the family honour. He pays little attention to his relations and former friends. Though he lives a very simple life and never smokes or drinks alcohol, he gets little exercise. He has, however, a passion for speed, and travels about in a high-powered car at a great pace, or better still, by aeroplane. He reads few books and has little respect for intellect or learning. 'What he wants', remarked an English visitor, 'is to get away from his guards for a while and talk with a few ordinary human beings'.

How can a man so lonely and isolated solve the problem which no dictator has ever yet solved—that of finding a successor to carry on his work without some violent change? The blustering, crude and cruel General Goering, and the eloquent, clever, but feared Minister of Propaganda, Dr Goebbels, seem to cancel each other out, and the most likely successor to Hitler at the

moment is the honest, ruthless young Himmler, Chief of the Secret Police. But Hitler is only 50 years of age, and at the height of his power and popularity.

It may be that the democratic countries have something to learn from Nazi Germany in developing the harder virtues of discipline, self-sacrifice, hard work and physical endurance, especially among young people. Whether Hitler, who was never disciplined or trained for a vocation in his own youth, will be able to control the forces he has let loose, only the future can tell.

IV
ROOSEVELT



[Photo: Central News]

ROOSEVELT

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

In 1914 the United States owed other countries, chiefly Britain, no less than 3,000 million dollars. In 1918 she had lent so much to the Allies that they owed *her* 10,000 million dollars. While the European countries were slowly recovering from the War, the United States was almost forcing countries like Germany and Austria to borrow her surplus money. American farmers could not grow enough wheat and cotton, and were encouraged to farm the virgin land with machinery for a year or two and then move on to fresh land, leaving a barren waste behind. American factory workers were the highest paid in the world and one out of every five people had a motor-car.

During such prosperous times the country was content to leave government in the hands of big business-men, and to Presidents who were mere figure-heads. The weak and popular Harding, the silent Coolidge, and the uninspiring Hoover, were never called upon really to lead a country that was so sure of itself.

The World Crisis

In 1929 clouds appeared on the horizon. European countries were not only unable to pay their debts, but had begun to follow the American example of placing high tariffs on imported goods. As Europe recovered from war she

needed to buy less and less from the United States. Britain, followed by other countries, went off the Gold Standard, which meant that she would pay America about 15 shillings for every pound's worth of goods. America became nervous, and when she began asking for the return of her loans to Austria and Germany, banks began to collapse everywhere, and there was panic on the New York Stock Exchange. In vain did President Hoover beg people to believe that prosperity was 'just round the corner'. When the time came for the Presidential Elections in 1932, there were 15 million unemployed, in a country with no system of insurance, and whose trade had dropped by half. The farmers of the Middle-West had mortgaged their homes and land, and were being evicted in thousands. Americans had lost their faith in the bankers and big-business, and it seemed as if some terrible impersonal force was driving the nation towards disaster, and statesmen were helpless to prevent it.

What an opportunity for a bold and resolute leader! President Hoover would almost certainly be swept out of office in 1932, but who would take his place? The Republican party had no leader to compare even with Hoover; and the Democratic party was divided between the supporters of three candidates—Governor Al Smith, very popular in his own State of New York, but hated in the West and South because he was a Catholic; Mr McAdoo, son-in-law of President Wilson, and Governor Ritchie. You

must remember that there are really *three* Americas. The North-Eastern States are mainly the centre of industry and finance; they had defeated the Southern States in the Civil War of 1861-65. These Southern States are the home of the cotton and tobacco plantations and are very conservative and independent. They had suffered much since the Civil War. Finally, there were the States of the West, home of the hardy, enterprising, but ill-educated farmers, whose main concern has usually been to be left alone, and who hate America to be dragged into world affairs.

While the Democrats were quarrelling about their candidate, the rumour began to spread that none of these candidates could win the support of the whole country, but that there was one man who would be popular everywhere: Franklin Roosevelt, Governor of New York City. These whispers were not accidental, for Franklin Roosevelt had made up his mind, like the elder William Pitt, that he was the man to save his country by firm and active leadership. From his room he directed his supporters by telephone, and in the end he was nominated Democratic candidate by a large majority.

A New Leader

From the moment of his aeroplane flight to greet the party Convention, Roosevelt's words and actions gave new life to the American nation. He started off with one great advantage—his name. He was a distant nephew of the great

Theodore Roosevelt, who was President from 1901 to 1909, one of the most popular figures in American history. He was bursting with such energy, optimism and confidence that Americans felt he could be depended upon to revive the fortunes of the country.

Franklin himself belonged to another branch of the Roosevelt family, one of those old Dutch families who had taken refuge in America in the 17th century, had acquired land and wealth, but had never advertised the fact or given way to wild speculation. So Franklin belonged to the real aristocracy from the start. Unlike any of the leaders dealt with in this book except Mr Chamberlain, his boyhood and youth were very sheltered and happy. Mixing with the great and famous from childhood, Franklin Roosevelt never became a snob, and he can still move among all classes of people with ease. When he was five years old his father took him to visit the famous President Cleveland. When they left, the statesman patted Franklin on the head and said, 'I am making a strange wish for you, little man, a wish no one would be likely to make. I hope you will never be President of the United States.'

At the time Franklin was more interested in becoming an admiral, for he had a passion for ships. He collected books and pictures on the subject, and became an expert model ship-builder. Even after he had become famous his family still held their annual model boat race.

In this and other ways he lived the happy life

of the well-to-do boy whom his parents love but do not spoil. His home was a big house overlooking a bend in the Hudson River, round which had sailed many of the pioneer ships three hundred years before. He was educated by private tutors till he was 14, and being fond of long walks, riding, and swimming, he grew to be a tall, strong and attractive lad. His family travelled a great deal, and several times he visited England. Such travels gave him a fine chance of adding to his stamp-collection, which is still one of his hobbies.

At the age of 14 he was sent to one of the best of American schools, Groton; for a boy educated there gained easy admission to Harvard University, just as Eton College in England leads on to Oxford. Like English Public schools, Groton paid at least as much attention to training the characters of its pupils as to their scholarship, and for four years Franklin got up at 7 A.M., went to bed at 9-30 P.M. and limited himself to 25 cents a week pocket money.

While he was at Groton the Spanish-American War broke out, and Franklin and a friend decided to run away and join the army. When the fateful morning arrived Franklin was in bed with measles. He was fond of games, but did not, as many boys do, waste his energy by playing too much. In the School Debating Society he soon made his mark, and made telling speeches on such subjects as 'The need for a big American Navy', and other problems which were to face him later as President.

When he entered Harvard in 1900 he had given up the idea of the sea as a career, and had made up his mind to enter politics. But though he took very seriously his studies in law, history and government, he was never a retiring student. He became president of a College Musical Society, for he had a good singing voice ; he rowed and danced a great deal, and was popular everywhere. In 1902 came his first taste of celebrity : he became editor of the College Magazine, the *Harvard Crimson*. This paper had become very dull. The new editor feared neither his fellow students nor the College Authorities. He criticised the College football team, and forced the Authorities to construct fire-escapes. When he left Harvard he had already gained, not only a creditable standard in his work, but a good knowledge of dealing with men.

From Harvard he went to Columbia University, New York to complete his education. At the age of 23 he was married to his cousin Eleanor Roosevelt, who was 'given away' by President Theodore. The young couple settled down, Franklin joined a solicitors' firm ; five children gradually appeared on the scene, and Franklin made friends everywhere by his good looks, his winning smile, and his earnest interest in other peoples' welfare.

'Nothing succeeds like success', and in 1912 Franklin was given his first chance of a political contest for a seat on the New York Senate. As Democratic candidate he seemed to have no chance in a very Republican district. He hired an old

Ford car, painted red, which he called the 'Red Peril', and travelled everywhere, denouncing the corrupt practices of Tammany Hall.¹ To everyone's surprise except his own, he was elected. Immediately afterwards, he heard that the local Democratic leaders proposed to send to the United States Senate a certain William Sheehan, who was known to represent a big traction magnate called Ryan. Sheehan's work in Washington would have been to secure government orders for Ryan's tractors. Roosevelt determined to oppose the election of Sheehan. He got together a few of the Democratic Senators who promised to support him. For three months the Tammany leaders tried in vain, first to frighten, then to bribe, the small band of rebels. In the end another candidate was sent to Washington, and Roosevelt had won his first victory for clean government.

The Great War

In 1913 Roosevelt was 32, full of health and vigour, and already well-known in the Eastern States, with his two years experience as Senator. A Presidential election was due, and his uncle had quarrelled with the Republican party. There was a chance that the Democratic candidate, Governor Woodrow Wilson, the former president of Princeton University, might be elected, and Franklin Roosevelt threw himself heart and soul into the campaign for Wilson. When

¹ Originally a Quaker charitable society, it had become an organization of business-men which controlled politics.

elected, Wilson showed his appreciation by appointing his young champion as Assistant Secretary to the United States Navy.

Almost immediately the Great War broke out in Europe. One-fifth of the American nation was German, so although the sympathies of Wilson and his government were with the Allies, America remained neutral until Germany began to sink merchant vessels at sight. The *Lusitania*, sunk in 1916, had a large number of Americans on board, and in April 1917 America declared war on Germany.

For three years Roosevelt had been agitating for a more powerful navy. He wrote frequent articles in the press, obtained higher wages for sailors, stored up munitions, and when war came everything was ready. The great problem was how to deal with the German U-boats which were sinking over 100 ships a fortnight. One morning a mysterious visitor called on Roosevelt and claimed to have discovered how to defeat the U-boat menace. He explained his plan of laying mines connected with electrically charged wires, which as soon as touched by a submarine, would cause the mine to explode. Roosevelt decided to go to England and discuss the plan with the British Navy chiefs. While in Europe he also visited the trenches in Flanders, and had interviews with King George V, King Albert of Belgium, and Marshall Foch. With American help, the mine-laying scheme was pushed ahead, and resulted in a mutiny in the German Navy.

At the end of the War therefore, Roosevelt had increased his reputation as a successful statesman. He was known to be very impatient of 'Red tape'. On one occasion, when a new naval hospital camp was required, he went straight to Brooklyn, ordered the camp to be built, and obtained authority for it afterwards.

How to fight Dragons

When the excitement of victory was over, America felt so afraid of ever again joining in a European war that the Senate refused to ratify the Peace Treaties, and to join Wilson's League of Nations. This meant the end of the eight years of Democratic rule at the 1921 elections. Wilson, paralysed and broken in spirit, died in 1922, and Roosevelt, who at the age of thirty-eight had stood as candidate for the Vice-presidency, suffered his first defeat.

After a campaign of over 800 speeches Franklin Roosevelt was tired. He decided to go for a holiday with his family. One day, returning from a river picnic, they noticed a fierce forest fire a few miles away. It is a legal duty in America for any citizen to help in putting out these fires, so the Roosevelt family hurried off to the fire, and after hours of hard work it was overcome. They returned to their camp hot and tired, and ran down to the beach for a swim. Franklin came out hurriedly, for he suddenly felt terribly ill. He was carried home, but it was not till three doctors arrived that it was known that he had caught infantile paralysis,

and would probably be a helpless cripple for life. His faithful friend and secretary, Louis Howe, told him the doctors' verdict, saying that if he wanted to recover the slightest use of his legs he would have to submit his life to a strict routine of diet, treatment, and exercise. Roosevelt replied, 'Well, when does the work begin?'

He set to work to conquer his disease by the sheer strength of his will. Fortunately, his wife was equally determined that he should recover. She learned to drive a car, and taught the children to swim, and she has travelled, made speeches and written articles to such a degree that she is already a legendary figure. By massage and exercise Franklin gradually learned to move his feet. 'You folks', he once said to some friends, 'don't know what fun it is just to move your little toe.' But this was not enough. He decided to go to Warm Springs and bathe and exercise in the warm water which sprang from deep in the earth. His head and body were as strong as ever, and by swimming in Warm Springs, he gradually restored the life to his leg muscles so that he was able to stand upright and, with the aid of a steel belt and supports, and a stick, he could even walk again.

In the prosperous years suffering was not popular in America, and Roosevelt was in danger of becoming one of the rapidly forgotten men of politics. Actually, the attack of paralysis was a blessing in disguise to himself, and, one may say, to America and the World. By being out of politics while the financiers practically

ruled the country he remained untouched by any trace of scandal or corruption. People only remembered that he had fought for clean government and against the bosses and bankers, that he had been a loyal friend to Wilson, and that he championed the unemployed, those other 'forgotten men'. He was the one man to give America a fresh start and a New Deal. Although he never refers to his disease there is no doubt that the story of his heroic fight against it made a dramatic appeal to the Americans of 1932 when they themselves faced a grave crisis.

During his illness Roosevelt never lost his hold on life. To his other hobbies he now added a passion for making models of houses, and he has recently designed an ideal cottage for his family in the country, which is to have no telephone! All the energy that would have gone into an active life he now devoted to reading books on politics, history and economics, and writing articles which showed the world that he had no intention of being forgotten. He continued his legal work, became President of the Boy Scouts, and spent a great deal of money in making Warm Springs a place where cripples, rich and poor alike, could receive treatment.

Governor of New York

In 1928 the Democratic party chose Governor Al Smith, a personal friend of Roosevelt, to oppose Hoover in the Presidential election, and it was necessary to find someone to take Smith's place as Governor of New York State. Although

the New York Senate had a large Republican majority Roosevelt was elected, and for the next four years he had to learn the art of working with a Senate which was opposed to him.

He began by inviting the leaders of both parties to luncheon every Monday, after which he discussed frankly with them many questions which in the Senate might have led to quarrels. This 'Luncheon' won Roosevelt many a victory in the Senate, for how could Republican leaders who had enjoyed his hospitality vote against him?

One of his greatest victories was the passing of the Power Bill, by which the vast power of the St Lawrence River was harnessed to produce almost unlimited electricity for the State. In fighting for this Bill Roosevelt first made use of the wireless for propaganda, and discovered that he had a fine voice, and a friendly fireside manner, which later made him one of the world's best broadcasters.

Under the Roosevelt Administration in the New York State great recreation parks were opened, an unemployment relief fund, costing 20 million dollars, was begun, Old Age pensions were established and prisons were made healthier. One of the Governor's ideas was too big to be tackled by one State alone. You have no doubt read of the terrible floods caused by large rivers continually wearing away their banks. This evil, said Roosevelt, is caused by the wholesale cutting down of trees, whose roots strengthen the soil and prevent it being carried away.

Roosevelt loves trees, and wanted America to employ thousands of men and to plant millions of trees. He tried to see Hoover about it, but the President was too busy to attend to the matter.

When it was known that he was nominated as Democratic candidate in 1932 the Republicans thought to weaken his position by spreading rumours that his disease would render him too weak for the arduous task of President. At once Roosevelt showed his powers of endurance by a rapid tour of the whole country. For 900 miles he travelled by train, car, ship, and air, sometimes making a dozen speeches a day. His greatest triumph was in winning over the West. His method was quite simple. In every town he spoke in the highest praise of the local liberal leader, even if he were a Republican. In this way he won over to the Democratic side the votes of most of those Republicans who wanted bold reforms, and at the same time saved himself from having to make definite promises of what he would do if elected. His tour became a royal progress, and soon the story of his 'weakness' became a national joke. On November 8th, 1932, Franklin Roosevelt was elected President by a record majority.

One of the curious things about the American Constitution is that the outgoing President remains in office for four months, and by March 4th, 1933, the day of Roosevelt's inauguration, America had sunk into even deeper despair.

Inauguration

Republics have fewer occasions for displays of pageantry than countries with a royal sovereign, but every four years America makes the most of Inauguration Day. Imagine you are in New York on March 4th, 1933. The streets are decorated and everybody is excited, but how could the crowd be really cheerful with most of the banks closed, 15 million unemployed, and business at a standstill? Yet 150,000 people are gathered to watch the new President take the solemn oath to be true to the Constitution, and to listen to his first speech to the nation, no longer as leader of a party, but as a combination of the British offices of King and Prime Minister. Roosevelt's voice, through the miracle of wireless, rings clear to all ends of the earth, bringing new hope and courage to millions. When speaking to the people he has, like Abraham Lincoln, the gift of inventing phrases which cannot easily be forgotten. 'The only thing we have to fear,' he declares, 'is fear itself. The American people have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift, I take it.'

He outlines simply his policy. 'Our greatest task is to put people to work. We must act, and act quickly.' He proposes to ask Congress for 'emergency powers as great as if America were invaded by a foreign foe.' Finally, in her relations with foreign countries, he promises to

'dedicate the nation to the policy of the good neighbour'. In home and foreign policy, Americans must realize that human beings are inter-dependent on each other.

His first action was to close all banks for a week. A few days later he broadcast to the nation and told them in simple words and with deep sincerity, why this was done, and that some of the banks would re-open on the following day. If the public rushed to withdraw their money the country would go bankrupt; if, on the other hand, people would put money into the banks, things would quickly go back to normal. The result was magical. Queues formed outside the banks next day—to invest their spare cash.

Congress was summoned (this time Roosevelt was supported by an enormous majority), and for 100 days many laws were passed quickly one after another. The President was given authority as great as that of any dictator, with this difference: that soon after every great measure he must face either Congress or the Supreme Court, either of which could undo all his work. Also, at the end of four years, he must again face the American electors.

Two laws were first passed which greatly pleased the nation. During the prosperous years Congressmen had tried to win votes by granting pensions to ex-servicemen (most of whom had seen no active fighting) the cost of which was nearly one-quarter of the Budget. Roosevelt cut this Pension bill down by 500

million dollars. Next, he allowed the manufacture and sale of beer and spirits again. How America had introduced prohibition ten years earlier is one of the queerest mysteries, but everyone knew that alcohol was being smuggled into the country by the bootleggers, whose methods set an example of criminal lawlessness to the rest of the community. Anyone who could afford to pay a high price could buy it and only the poor had to do without it. These two reforms were statesmanship that everyone could understand!

The New Deal

The President then got down to the real problems of unemployment, reviving agriculture and industry, and bringing money under control. He knew that the man in the White House can be the loneliest man in the world, especially as he does not sit in Parliament every day like the British Prime Minister and hear the speeches of members from all parts of the country. Apart from consulting his ministers, Roosevelt devised two new ways of keeping in touch with the outside world.

Even before his election he had gathered around him,—for like most great leaders he has a magnetic quality which attracts all sorts of followers,—a small group of men who came to be known as his 'Brain Trust'. They were mostly professors and business-men, not very well known in the country, men who were not too ambitious or brilliant, but always ready to furnish him with

advice, and to draft speeches or laws. He is an excellent listener, and very quick at picking out the vital points from what he is told, so with the help of Professor Moley, Professor Tugwell, Mr Bullit, Mr Warburg and others, Roosevelt is able to anticipate trouble before it arises, and be ready with his solution.

Secondly, the President began twice a week to invite to the White House representatives of the leading American and foreign newspapers. A man has to be master of his work to stand up to the questions of quick-witted journalists, but Roosevelt frankly answers what he can, and if someone asks a question which he cannot answer, he will laugh and say 'What a splendid question. How learned you are. I wish I knew the answer, but I don't.' His perfect courtesy breeds respect, and he is never in danger of losing his dignity.

It needed skilful management to pass through Congress in less than six months a series of laws which in England have taken nearly a century. A new President always has a large number of government posts to distribute among his supporters in Congress, and Roosevelt cleverly kept his followers in suspense as long as possible so that they would always vote for his Bills and his favour.

Everyone was astonished at the energy of the man who rose early and began work before his officials arrived, had his lunch brought to his desk, worked till 11 p.m. or 2 a.m. as occasion required, and yet remained strong and buoyant,

always ready for a fishing or a yachting holiday. Roosevelt has the rare quality of inspiring his helpers to put forth their last ounce of energy, and of trusting them with responsibility.

Putting to work the 'forgotten men' was his first task, and this was the object of the Emergency Relief Act, which allowed the President to spend 500 million dollars on starting schemes of work. President Hoover had turned the police on to a crowd of unemployed who had marched to Washington. When Roosevelt heard that a similar march was to take place he arranged a camp to await the men outside the city, and went personally to speak to them. 'Do you want work?' he asked. 'Right, here's work for you. The forests of America have been wasted by overcutting, fire, and neglect; if you like to volunteer for forest work, there's food, lodging, and a dollar a day for you.' In a month or two a quarter of a million men were engaged in this work.

Another Bill, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, granted 2,000 million dollars partly to enable farmers pay the debts on their farms, partly for the strange purpose of paying the farmers to grow less wheat and cotton, and produce fewer pigs! The trouble was, of course, that farm produce had become so cheap that however much the farmers produced they could not make a profit. So Roosevelt said, 'Let us produce less. That will send the prices of food up again; we will pay the factory workers higher

wages so that they can buy more food, and then the farmer can make a profit again.'

But how to persuade business-men and factory owners to pay higher wages, when many of them were facing ruin already? That was, and still is, Roosevelt's biggest problem. He has at any rate tackled it in a big way. First he asked the advice of industrial leaders as to how wasteful competition could be stopped. Then he did what no other President had ever done : he consulted the leaders of the workers. Only about 6 per cent of American workers belonged to Trade Unions. Roosevelt appointed a Committee to represent all the Unions, and this Committee proposed a fixed minimum wage, shorter hours of work and the abolition of child labour.

• Out of these consultations Roosevelt and his ministers, chief among whom was General Johnson, produced the National Recovery Act. This Act compelled employers in the different industries to prepare codes fixing minimum wages and the maximum length of the working week, usually 40 hours. A public enquiry was held on every code, giving workers, employers and consumers a chance of criticizing it, and then it became law. In this way workers would be able to produce more goods, and industry would be set going again. An equally tremendous and more successful measure was the National Security Act, which established a system of Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions for about forty million people, as well as a scheme for looking after homeless and crippled

children. Under this Act, it is hoped also to create a system of National Health Insurance, but this is being held up, as was the Lloyd George Act of 1911 in England, by the doctors, who believe that they will find it difficult to earn a living if patients can obtain free treatment from the State.

Realizing the value of propaganda as much as any dictator, Roosevelt started a national campaign to bring all employers into the National Recovery Act. He broadcast to the nation a masterly appeal, warning both employers and workers that the success of the New Deal depended on everyone unselfishly doing his bit. For some months enthusiasm ran high, and the Blue Eagle, the sign that an employer belonged to N.R.A., was as common in the streets as the Swastika in Germany.

Difficulties of the New Deal

In spite of this enthusiasm Roosevelt soon came up against some real difficulties. First, as he himself said, the N.R.A. depended on both sides, employers and employed, playing the game. It soon became clear that many employers were openly breaking the codes they had signed, and some of the leaders of industry, notably Mr Henry Ford, refused to sign codes at all. The Trade Unions naturally became very discontented.

Secondly, we must remember that the United States is a Federation, and that all important laws have to be passed by the Senates of the

forty-nine States. There was bound to be delay in getting such great reforms through, but Roosevelt is very resourceful, and in November 1933, with 12 million still unemployed and winter approaching, he set up a Civil Works Administration with power to give the States enough money to set four million men to work immediately on roadmaking, building, and other public works. This scheme cost fifty million dollars a week, and in February 1934 it had to be abandoned, and the four million men were unemployed again. In that year nearly a quarter of the nation was receiving some sort of government relief.

Thirdly, American trade, as the President well knew, could never really prosper while world trade was in a bad state. And in Europe, Asia and Africa things grew ever worse for trade. Nearly every country was trying to curtail its imports by high tariffs. Even England now adopted Protection, and made trade agreements with her Dominions and certain other countries which reduced the trade between the British Empire and the United States. Similarly, nearly every country was trying to increase its exports by going off the gold standard, as America had done, and dumping its goods at a lower price on the world market.

Yet if America suffered from this, President Roosevelt must accept part of the blame. In 1932 a World Economic Conference met in London, largely because of his encouragement of the idea, to try to reduce tariffs and to restore a fair standard of money between the nations.

When the delegates assembled from all over the world and asked the Americans what they proposed, the President, who was on holiday, bluntly told the Conference that America had to put her own house in order before she could think about an international money standard. Even his own delegates were dismayed, and it may well be that by his rebuff to other countries Roosevelt missed a great opportunity of removing some of the chief dangers to world peace and prosperity.

Meanwhile war was casting its shadow over China, Abyssinia and Spain, and though Roosevelt personally would have supported the League of Nations in checking the military ambitions of Japan, Italy and Germany, the members of the League failed even to carry out their solemn promise to break off all trade with an aggressor nation. Every day the world was becoming more unsafe for democracy, and Roosevelt's only comfort was a successful conference with the South American States, which helped everyone to forget the United States' old policy of imperialist expansion in the Southern Continent.

At home, the money problem was the most difficult, for the President could not persuade employers to increase wages as fast as they put up the price of their goods. This brings us to his fourth great obstacle :

In Britain Parliament is supreme, and can pass any law it likes, but in America, to prevent anyone daring to try and alter their sacred Constitution, there is a Supreme Court of nine

judges, appointed for life, who can decide that any measure passed by Congress and the President is illegal.

Roosevelt had been quite successful in persuading people to deposit their money in the banks again, but he was determined to stop the banks from indulging in wild speculation with people's money. He thought that the money in banks should be used for helping the citizens to buy their houses, or for financing the government's public works schemes.

The biggest of these schemes was the recovery of the Tennessee valley, which had been left derelict by constant floods and the carrying away of soil. The tenant farmers, or 'share-crofters', were living in a state of semi-slavery. The Tennessee Valley Authority controls an area as big as England, and the lives of four million people. It has taken the farmers off the poor hill-side farms, and given them small-holdings in the valley. They are allowed only to grow enough food for their own use, and since this leaves them free for part of their time, they work part-time in the new factories, driven by cheap electricity, which the Authority has set up. This electricity is generated by means of three vast dams which have cost the government £18½ millions. The Authority has built model dairies and houses, schools in which the share-crofters' children are for the first time properly educated, and has revived the fine old Tennessee folk songs and dances. No wonder the scheme has been called 'the most far-reaching adventure in

regional planning ever undertaken outside Soviet Russia'.

Roosevelt appointed a committee to enquire into housing conditions, which reported that 'Eleven million homes in this country, 30 per cent of the dwellings of the nation, can be classed as slum houses,—not a very good picture for the richest country in the world.' The government arranged for people who wished to buy their homes to pay off the loan at a moderate rate of interest, over a period of twenty years.

No sooner were these great reforms started than the Supreme Court declared the whole of the National Recovery Act and the Agricultural Assistance Act to be illegal. Such a decision was as good as telling the government that it had no right whatever to control industry, wages or prices, and that these were matters for each State alone. The Court further decided that the Tennessee Valley Authority had no right to sell electricity at a cheaper rate than private companies.

Roosevelt faced the challenge calmly. He appealed to employers and workers to go on working the codes as though nothing had happened, and, strangely enough, they *did* go on. The end of his first four years of office was approaching, and there were signs that the President's popularity was declining. His opponents pointed to the government's enormous expenditure, amounting to £7 millions a day,—as much as Britain had spent during the War. 'Taxes', replied Roosevelt, 'are the price we pay

for civilized society', but the results of such expense did not seem to be very great.

Many people expected, as the election approached, that Roosevelt would appeal to the country to reform the Constitution, so that a court of judges could not interfere with the will of the people. He was too wise, however, to give his enemies a chance of accusing him of being a revolutionary, which he certainly is not. Once more in 1936, he made brilliant speeches all over the country, and again it became clear that, though the rich hated him almost more fiercely than if he were Stalin himself, the man in the street and on the farm still regarded him as the only possible leader. He was again careful not to issue threats or promises of what he would do, but pointed with pride to his achievements of the last four years. 'How the knees of our rugged individualists trembled four years ago,' he declared to a great Chicago crowd. 'Washington was an emergency hospital for them. Now most of the patients are doing very nicely. Some are even well enough to throw their crutches at the doctor!'

The Second Term

And so, though practically all the newspapers were against him, Roosevelt was again elected with a big majority over Governor Landon. Presidents can usually afford to be bolder in their second term of office, which is generally their last, and one of the first things Roosevelt did was to 'retire' several of the judges of the Supreme

Court and appoint his own supporters so that he could always be reasonably sure of a majority of five judges out of nine. The work of the New Deal has gone steadily on, and gradually the main interest of the second Roosevelt Administration has become foreign affairs. The speeches of the President and his ministers have shown a growing alarm at the growth of dictatorship in Europe, at the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia and Spain, of Japan in China, and of Germany in Austria and Czechoslovakia. On September 26th, 1938, when Herr Hitler threatened immediately to invade the latter country, and another war seemed almost certain, the President sent the following cable to Herr Hitler: 'Should hostilities break out the lives of millions of men, women and children in every country will most certainly be lost under circumstances of unspeakable horror. The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace, but in the event of general war they face the fact that no nation can escape some measure of the consequence of such a world catastrophe. On behalf of the 130 million people of the United States, and for the sake of humanity everywhere, I most earnestly appeal to you not to break off negotiations.'

Perhaps we shall never know the exact effect of this appeal on Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, but, broadcast in every language, it certainly brought renewed confidence to millions of ordinary men and women all over the world. Events are now moving fast either to peace or war in the

world, and Roosevelt, like Chamberlain, believes that the danger of war is less if his country is strong enough to command respect. Already he has threatened that if Signor Mussolini expels American Jews from Italy he will do the same with Italians in America. Happily, there are signs that the two great English-speaking peoples are determined to come to a close understanding. A Trade Agreement has been completed and in 1939, for the first time in history, a reigning British Monarch has been the President's guest in the White House.

In the elections of November 10th, 1938, the Republican Party regained a number of seats in Congress and a few in the Senate, but the Democrats still command a large majority. No other figure has arisen to challenge the hold of Roosevelt on the American nation so it is probable that, until the Presidential election of 1940, events in America will still revolve around his personality. Will he be the first President to have the strength and good fortune to remain in office for a third term? In any case, the hopes of the world lie with the man who, more than any other, can help to realize the dreams of Presidents Lincoln and Wilson that the world may be made 'safe for democracy'.

V
CHAMBERLAIN



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CHAMBERLAIN

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

The name of Chamberlain at once calls up a picture of three famous members of one family : the father, Joseph, perhaps the most brilliant British statesman who never became Prime Minister ; the elder son Austen, who became noted at home and abroad for his strong sense of duty, and the present Prime Minister, Neville. Behind this famous trio, however, lay generations of middle-class ancestors, all of pure English stock, who had originally lived in Wiltshire. One of them was burnt alive in the reign of Queen Mary for being a Protestant, so it is not surprising that a special characteristic of the family has been courage, and willingness to face facts, however unpleasant.

Joseph Chamberlain

Joseph Chamberlain was born in London in 1836. His father was a shoe-maker, and had lived for years over his workshop in Milk Street. The boy soon showed he was clever, but he could not enter Oxford or Cambridge University because he did not belong to the Church of England. He learned his father's trade, and at the age of eighteen was sent to Birmingham to look after his father's interests in a screw-making factory there. By the age of thirty-eight he had become wealthy, and was well known for his

enterprise in travelling abroad to deal with customers personally.

At the age of forty he turned to politics, and was elected to Parliament as a Radical Liberal, eager to press on Gladstone more and quicker reforms. He had already taken up the cause of Education, and had much to do with the Act of 1870, which made it possible for the Government to provide schools for all. Soon he was elected Lord Mayor of Birmingham. He made the City Council buy up all the gas and water supply, thus providing cheaper and better services. 'By God's help the town shall not know itself,' the Lord Mayor had said, and soon acres and acres of land were bought, and slum houses pulled down and re-built. The streets were tidied up, the Art Gallery and Libraries enlarged, and Birmingham became a model city with its fine baths, parks, and recreation grounds.

The man who made such changes was bound to attract attention, but unfortunately Chamberlain's outspoken manner gained him many enemies, chief among whom were Disraeli and the Queen, for the terrible Lord Mayor had given the impression that he would not mind England becoming a republic.

In 1880 Mr Gladstone made him President of the Board of Trade, and with his business experience he soon found that England was handicapped by sticking to Free Trade while other countries were putting tariffs on British goods. He became very uneasy about this, and in 1886 he left the Liberal Party. In 1895 he became

Colonial Secretary in a Conservative government. For eight years he threw himself into the task of waking up Englishmen to the fact that they ruled the largest Empire the world had ever seen. He was able to do a good deal, in spite of the unfortunate Boer War of 1899-1903, but gradually he became convinced that the only way to preserve the Empire was to adopt a policy of 'Imperial Preference', which meant that Britain would have to impose tariffs on foreign goods, while maintaining Free Trade within the Empire. He said that the Empire could supply nearly all the goods that Britain wanted. In 1903 Chamberlain threw away an almost certain chance of soon becoming Prime Minister by resigning, in order to convert the country to his new policy. Britain was not yet ready to listen to his arguments, and replied in 1906 by giving the Liberals a record majority. Joseph Chamberlain's health broke down, and he became a helpless cripple. When he died in 1911 he seemed to have been one of the world's most brilliant failures. Fortunately, perhaps, he did not live to see the War which he had tried to avoid by making friends with Germany.

Austen Chamberlain

Austen Chamberlain, like the second Pitt, was trained to be a statesman from boyhood. He and his younger half-brother Neville were both sent to Rugby School, but whereas Austen went on to Cambridge University, and then straight into politics, Neville went to Birmingham

University, and then into business. Austen entered Parliament when only twenty-nine, and made a maiden speech which, as Mr Gladstone generously said, 'must have been very dear and refreshing to a father's heart'. At forty, Austen was Chancellor of the Exchequer. He worked hard in his father's campaign for tariffs, and it was not till the War had begun, and Mr Lloyd George was forming a Government of all parties, that he again held office, this time as Secretary for India. The next year there was a scandal about the mismanagement of the British campaign in Mesopotamia, for which the India Office was responsible. Although Austen was not in any way to blame he at once resigned. In 1918 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Mr Lloyd George. The two men were totally different, Lloyd George, fiery, and changeable, and often thought to be 'tricky'; the other reserved, and slow to change. They never worked well together, yet in 1920 when the Conservatives decided to bring the Lloyd George coalition to an end, and wished Austen to become their new leader, he refused to desert Mr Lloyd George, and lost for ever his chance of becoming Prime Minister. When eventually Mr Baldwin became the Conservative Prime Minister in 1924, Austen Chamberlain undertook the office of Foreign Secretary, just when Europe was in the depth of post-war depression. His great triumph was to bring about the Treaty of Locarno, by which France and Germany promised never to attack one another. If they did,

the aggressor would have to face the might of Britain and Italy. Immediately after this Germany entered the League of Nations.

Sir Austen, as he now was, retired from office in 1928, but whenever foreign affairs were discussed in Parliament, few were listened to with such profound respect as he. When Italy invaded Abyssinia he was in favour of the policy of Sanctions, by which countries belonging to the League of Nations were to stop all trade with Italy. But when it became clear that Sanctions had failed, he was one of the first to say, like his brother Neville, that they ought to be dropped, lest Italy should be forced into an alliance with Herr Hitler against the British Empire.

Neville Chamberlain

When Sir Austen died in March 1937, Neville Chamberlain was Chancellor of the Exchequer in a National Government under Mr Baldwin, and already 68 years of age. There was no surprise, and very little excitement when, after the Coronation of King George VI he succeeded Mr Baldwin as Prime Minister. Outside Birmingham Mr Chamberlain was much less known than his father or his brother, and he was generally thought of, not as a politician, but as a hard, efficient businessman, lacking sympathy for the common man. He was not very popular in the House of Commons because he was so aloof, and his speeches were more like the reports of a company director, full of facts and figures, with no tricks of oratory.

Like his father, Neville had a long business experience before entering politics. His mother, Joseph Chamberlain's third wife, died when he was only six years old. When a boy he frequently entertained the family by playing Beethoven and Mendelssohn on the piano, and his passion for fishing and watching the habits of birds has never left him.

After the university he went into an accountant's office, where he soon showed that ability to memorize and juggle with figures which were to make his speeches as Chancellor so hard to criticize. At twenty-one, an age when most young men are just finishing their education, he was given a very responsible job. While visiting America Joseph Chamberlain had heard that a fortune awaited the man who could grow the sisal plant, from whose great, sword-like spikes excellent twine and rope could be made. Neville and Austen were sent for a cruise round the Bahama Islands in the West Indies in a twelve-ton cutter, and on their advice Joseph bought 20,000 acres of land on a small island called Andros, where only a few negroes hunted with bow and arrow, and fished for sponges. Neville was left in charge, and for six weeks had to live with his manager and fifteen negro carpenters in a native hut until they had built a fine, mosquito-proof house.

He never drank alcohol, owing to the danger of malaria, and he did not mix much with the other planters on the island. Soon he was in charge of 800 negro labourers, planting sisal,

and blasting a way through coral rock for a tram-line which would never be used.

All sorts of queer tasks came his way. He earned quite a reputation as a quack doctor by giving the natives medicine and bandaging their wounds. The story is told how one day a native asked for some of his patent medicine for rheumatism. Finding it had all gone, the 'doctor' promptly gave the patient some 'anti-bite' medicine, and was solemnly thanked next day for its rapid success. Often he had to serve behind the counter of the shop he had built for the workers.

Five years went by, waiting for the sisal to grow. In February 1895 the plants turned yellow and ceased to grow because the soil was too thin, and soon Neville had to report complete failure. His father lost about £50,000 on the venture, but never blamed his son.

The Chamberlains have always been at their best when facing a crisis, and soon Joseph was Colonial Secretary, and Neville had proved himself a success in business. Instead of living a comfortable useless life in London, as he might have done, content to live on his father's fame, he had tackled a big adventure, and had learned one of the great lessons of life,—how to endure defeat. Further, he would always know what it feels like to live in a remote part of the Empire.

Lord Mayor of Birmingham

During the next ten years Neville Chamberlain became managing director of Hoskins and Son, who made steel berths for ships, and of

Elliot's Metal Company. He was also a director of the Birmingham Small Arms Company. In business he believed, like his father, in direct personal contact with his customers.

In 1911 he married Miss Ann Vere Cole, whose Irish charm, ability as a housewife, and active social work have meant as much to Mr Chamberlain as Mrs Roosevelt has meant to the American President. Neville was so interested in business that just before his marriage he had said, 'I have no intention, now or ever, of going into politics.' It was Mrs Chamberlain who persuaded him to stand for the City Council, with important results for Birmingham, Britain and the world.

'Councillor' Chamberlain insisted on serving on the Public Health and Town Planning Committees, neither of which was considered very important. Birmingham had grown very rapidly, and there had been no Authority to see that houses were properly built, and in the right places. Over a quarter of a million people were living in old 'back-to-back' slum houses. As Chairman of the Town Planning Committee, Mr Chamberlain began pulling down slum houses and building better ones. On the Health Committee he worked to establish clinics where poor people could receive free medical treatment.

The Great War came, and in 1915 Mr Chamberlain was asked to take the place of the Lord Mayor, who had gone to lead his regiment. He was at his best as Chairman of Council meetings, always allowing the Labour Councillors full

scope for putting their case, yet getting through the business quickly. But he never became as popular as 'Our Joe', and he disliked being called by his Christian name. It is amazing what reforms Mr Chamberlain was able to carry through in spite of the War. The most important of these was the creation of the Birmingham Municipal Bank the only bank of its kind in the country. Hitherto the city had had no bank where poor people could put aside their small savings. During the war factory workers were earning high wages and the government was encouraging them to invest their savings. Mr Chamberlain wanted a bank run by the Corporation so that the money saved by Birmingham citizens could be lent back to them for buying their homes. He never rested till a Bill had been passed by Parliament allowing the Municipal Bank to go on after the War. In 1938 it had a capital of £27 millions, sixty branch offices, and a palatial Head Office which is a fitting memorial to its founder.

Another debt the city owes to its war-time Mayor is its fine municipal orchestra. Still another is the buying up of the private motor bus company, so that both buses and trams belonged to the city, and any profits they made resulted in cheaper fares, higher wages, or lower rates.

Chamberlain's ability for quick action was shown in 1916 when a German Zeppelin raid, helped by the glare of the furnaces of the Black Country round Birmingham, resulted in 67 people being killed and 117 injured. The Mayor

summoned a meeting of all local Mayors and police-constables, drew up a plan for 'blacking out' all lights when warning came of a raid, and placing anti-aircraft guns with powerful search-lights on the neighbouring hills. Later raids were driven off with little damage.

Another Chamberlain at Westminster

In 1917 Mr Lloyd George persuaded Mr Chamberlain, much against his will, to become Director-General of National Service, to decide which men could be spared for military service, and how their places should be filled. The plan was so badly thought out that after seven months of confusion, during which time £60,000 was spent with little result, the National Service Department was closed, and Mr Chamberlain's first attempt at politics seemed to have failed like his first enterprise in business. He and Mr Lloyd George parted with a very low opinion of each other.

Perhaps it was this set-back which made him, in 1918, become a candidate for Parliament, which he entered at the age of fifty. In 1922, when Austen went out of office with Mr Lloyd George, Neville was made Postmaster-General. A year later he became Minister of Public Health, a post which he soon made one of the most important in the Cabinet, just as his father had caused all eyes to turn to the humble post of Colonial Secretary.

After the War, when millions of men were returning home, there was a great demand for houses. Mr Lloyd George had talked much

about building 'homes for heroes', but only a few houses had been built, at vast expense. Mr Chamberlain at once passed a new Act by which local Councils could lend money to people to pay for their homes, and could pay a 'subsidy' to firms for every suitable house they built. By 1929 hundreds of thousands of houses had been built under this scheme.

After the election of 1924, Mr Baldwin asked Mr Chamberlain to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he preferred to remain at the Ministry of Health. He carried through Parliament no less than twenty-eight important Bills, and always he gave the impression of absolute mastery over the most complicated problems. His most difficult task was an Act of 1929, which made many sweeping changes in Local Government. Farmers, who since the War had been finding it difficult to make a living, were no longer to pay rates on their land or buildings. Factory owners were only to pay one-quarter of the old rates. The Railways, badly hit by the growth of road transport, were also exempt from rates on their tracks and stations. Unfortunately, many employers merely put the money thus saved into their pockets, instead of employing more men.

The Conservatives were defeated in 1929, and while a Labour Minister was taking over his work at the Ministry of Health, Mr Chamberlain travelled through the Empire and came back to put the Conservative Party in order for the next campaign.

Two years later the Labour Government crashed in the middle of the world crisis, and it is believed to have been Mr Chamberlain who suggested that a National Government, representing all parties, should be formed to weather the storm. In the new Government he himself shortly took on the heaviest burden as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In his opinion, the crisis had hit England not only because the Labour Government had spent too much on unemployment and the social services, but even more because England had refused to protect her trade by tariffs. It must have been the proudest moment of his life when in 1932 he introduced in Parliament the very policy for which his father had fought unsuccessfully. A 10 per cent tariff was imposed on nearly all imports, with a preference, that is a lower tariff or none at all, on goods from the Empire.

Mr Chamberlain never pretended to have any quack remedies for restoring England's prosperity. He refused to abolish the means test, by which unemployed persons had to give every detail of their family income before receiving public assistance. Gradually, however, he was able to restore the cuts in salaries which had been imposed in 1931.

Unfortunately, the appearance of Herr Hitler as German dictator, and the outbreak of wars in China, Abyssinia and Spain, soon led to a vast increase of Britain's armaments. Like Mr Baldwin, Mr Chamberlain believed that Britain was hopelessly unprepared for war, and that until she

was, she could not hope to speak with any authority when Hitler broke one clause of the Versailles Treaty after another, and when Mussolini attacked Abyssinia, a fellow member of the League of Nations. Mr Chamberlain's later budgets, therefore, spent alarming sums of money on armaments, and he became even less popular with the tax-payers who had to pay more duty on tea and petrol and more income-tax.

One of his present Ministers has given the following picture of Mr Chamberlain in Parliament : 'The Minister enters unconcernedly, places his red box¹ on the table, takes his seat on the Treasury Bench, omits to look round the Chamber, as most orators do, and waits for the Speaker to call him. Then he rises and unfolds his case with confidence, never using a note.' When anyone rises to correct something he has said, he will wave the interrupter aside. This makes him unpopular and sometimes 'epithets of personal abuse are hurled at him across the floor, he is jeered at, interrupted, obstructed.' But through it all he remains perfectly calm. Once, during a conference with Trade Union leaders, he laughed loudly when someone called him a Fascist. 'If you laughed like that in the House of Commons,' said a Labour M.P., 'your popularity would increase.'

Yet there was a very human side to this 'Iron Chancellor'. One winter's day, during one of his regular walks in St. James' Park, he noticed

¹ This red dispatch box is the same as has been used by Chancellors ever since Gladstone's day.

a grey wagtail, quite a stranger in London, and before going to the Treasury he wrote a letter to *The Times* about it. In the first summer after going to live at No. 11, Downing St., he wrote as follows to *The Times* : 'As, later in the year, the Spring brought up the sap, and the green began to show in the tips of the lime-buds, the first sound that came through the open window of my bedroom in the morning was the song of a thrush. "Hey ! Ho ! Hey ! Ho !" he sang so joyously and vigorously that his exuberant spirits were infectious.' Soon afterwards, however, he discovered that the song came from a clever blackbird, which had learned to imitate a thrush !

The First Chamberlain Prime Minister .

When Mr Chamberlain became Prime Minister on May 29th, 1937, foreign affairs were already becoming very serious. The chief cause of trouble was the failure of Sanctions to stop Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. Even in 1936 Mr Chamberlain had described Sanctions as 'the very midsummer of madness', and one of his first acts as Prime Minister was to send a friendly personal message to Signor Mussolini. The British Foreign Minister, Mr Eden, agreed that friendship with Italy was very desirable, but felt that before any treaty was made with her, Italy should show her good faith by withdrawing Italian soldiers from Spain, where they were fighting for General Franco in a rebellion against the Spanish government. In February 1938,

Herr Hitler marched into Austria, and Mr Eden resigned. A great many people in England believed that he was right in saying that England should refuse to allow dictators time after time to gain their ends by brute force, and it seemed that the Prime Minister was becoming more and more unpopular.

Soon all eyes were turned to Czechoslovakia, as Herr Hitler threatened louder and louder to rescue the Sudeten Germans by force. . Everyone knew that the Czechs would fight if any of the great Powers supported them; everyone waited to see if Britain would at last give the lead. Mr Chamberlain had already shown Britain's interest in the Czech problem by sending Lord Runciman to try and help the two sides to reach an agreement.

When the new crisis was becoming serious, Mr Chamberlain was staying with the King and Queen at Balmoral Castle in Scotland. The King suggested that the Prime Minister should stay on another day, fish in the morning, and travel to London in the royal aeroplane. 'The thought of flying terrifies me,' said Chamberlain, 'I would sooner forego my fishing.'

When he reached London, he realized that unless something was done immediately a world war would break out within a few days. And so, on the morning of Thursday, September 15th, the country learned with a gasp of amazement that at the age of sixty-nine, this man who had never before been in an aeroplane, who had never really been able to capture the people's

imagination, had telegraphed to Herr Hitler this simple message : 'I propose to come over and see you with a view to trying to find peaceful solution. I propose to come across by air and am ready to start tomorrow.'

For the next three weeks Mr Chamberlain's name was on everyone's lips ; his speeches were broadcast in almost every language ; crowds followed him and his wife wherever they went, and he was cheered almost as much in Germany as in England.

When he returned, it was announced that he would again visit Herr Hitler at Godesberg on September 23rd. There it became clear that no agreement had been reached, and Herr Hitler had threatened to invade Czechoslovakia on Saturday, October 1st. On Wednesday evening, September 28th, a crowded House of Commons awaited the worst. There had never been such a dramatic moment in the House since war was declared on August 4th, 1914, a scene which few M.P.s but Mr Lloyd George and Mr Winston Churchill had witnessed. Then for the first time, and on the wireless afterwards, the world heard in simple language a story more thrilling than anything in fiction.

At their first interview Herr Hitler had bluntly stated that unless the districts where the majority of the people were German were handed over to Germany immediately, he was prepared for war. If the British Government would accept that idea, he was prepared to discuss how the occupation should be carried out. Mr Chamber-

lain came home, persuaded his inner Cabinet to accept the principle of persuading the Czechs to hand over the territory, and returned to Godesberg. There he found Hitler unprepared to discuss anything except an ultimatum to the Czechs due to expire on October 1st. Then, said Mr Chamberlain, 'I bitterly reproached the Chancellor on his failure to respond in any way to the efforts which I had made to secure peace.' He had returned home 'full of foreboding', on September 24th. The French government had told Herr Hitler that if Czechoslovakia were attacked, France would carry out her promise to defend her. Soviet Russia had said that she would do the same. Britain had told Herr Hitler that if there were war between France and Germany, Britain would have to support France. The British Fleet was mobilizing; the whole country was hurriedly fitting gas-masks, digging trenches, and evacuating women and children from London.

And then, just as Mr Chamberlain was about to conclude his speech without a ray of hope in sight, a note was passed to him, and he announced that as a result of his last minute message he had been invited to visit Germany a third time, for a meeting between Herr Hitler, M. Daladier, Signor Mussolini, and himself. People felt they were watching a drama in which no sensational happening to the hero Chamberlain was too impossible.

Finally, on September 30th, the newspapers

announced that agreement had been reached at Munich for all the Sudeten districts to be given to Germany within about a fortnight.

So there would be no war after all, and people went about that day as one does on a spring morning with the sun shining, feeling how good it is just to be alive.

Gradually people realized how much had been sacrificed for the sake of peace. Dr Benes, the Czech President, whose life had been devoted to the building up of a prosperous democratic country, resigned, and many Englishmen and Frenchmen felt a sense of burning indignation as they heard of the thousands of *Czech and German* refugees fleeing from the Nazi rule. The British Minister for the Admiralty, Mr Duff Cooper, resigned because, he said, Mr Chamberlain had never told Herr Hitler that Britain would fight if necessary. The new Czech government, and also the other countries of Hungary, Poland and Roumania, are entirely at the mercy of Germany. Russia may never again trust to her French alliance.

At Godesberg Herr Hitler and Mr Chamberlain spent some time alone together. Herr Hitler stated that once he had got Sudetenland he would want no more territory in Europe. He wished, he said, to be friends with Britain, and there was now only one awkward question,-- Germany wanted her colonies back. But, said Herr Hitler, 'there will be no war about that'. Mr Chamberlain believes that Herr Hitler is sincere, but, to make quite sure, he has decided

that England must prepare herself as never before for the possibility of war.

Here we must end our story. Two thoughts arise from it. First, the wonder of man's conquest of space, which enables statesmen, if they wish, to race events and settle disputes by discussion before they result in war. Second, that England has been fortunate in having a system of government where even in opposition men can serve their country, instead of a one-party government which, once in power, destroys all other parties and their leaders. For sixty years the Chamberlains have been able continuously to serve their town and country, sometimes as Ministers of State, sometimes in opposition, knowing full well that whatever they proposed they might be called upon to carry out when in power. One of Mr Chamberlain's mottoes has been 'never promise what you cannot fulfil'.

Although in democratic England men and women do not worship their leaders as gods, ready to obey without criticism, the wave of feeling that went out to Mr Chamberlain during the Czech crisis showed, as every chapter in this book will show, that real leadership and character is needed today as much as ever before, because machines, and the complex society that man has created will get out of control unless leaders arise who will help man to feel the master of his fate.

Visitors to England often notice the great respect which the English have for anything that is old. Even when there have been violent

changes in Britain's history her monarchy and parliament, her churches, and her ancient schools and universities, have not been destroyed but re-adapted to new conditions. Even her more modern institutions such as the county and borough councils, and the trade unions, have their roots deep in a venerable past. When institutions are so stable, the men who hold high positions in them, however able or brilliant they may be, are regarded as the holders for the time being of the torch of tradition. Leaders come and go, and if one passes from the scene, others have been trained to step into the breach without any great break. Dictators are usually followed by periods of confusion and even revolution, for few men, if any, can be wise or strong enough to be solely responsible for the affairs of a great country.

The Chamberlain family is one of many which have a long tradition of public service. The famous men of that family have owed much of their inspiration to their wives and mothers, so it is fitting to close with some words spoken by Mr Chamberlain of his wife : 'She has rejoiced in my successes ; she has encouraged me in my disappointments ; she has guided me with her counsel ; she has warned me off dangerous courses ; she has never allowed me to forget the humanity that underlies politics.'

VI
STALIN



[Photo : Planet News

STALIN

STALIN

The 1938 group of conscripts (young men who have to join the army for a period of military service) have just been called on in Russia. The Russian newspapers have been full of praise for these young men, they call them 'literate, learned and cultivated' and claim that they are in splendid health and join up most willingly, 'unlike the jaded, down-trodden mass of conscripts of mere capitalist armies'. These statements are typical of the Russia of today, showing as they do great pride in their nation and contempt for those countries which have not adopted their form of economic organization called 'communism'. For few would care to deny that Russia, with her $8\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles of territory and 163 million inhabitants, is one of the most powerful nations in the world today. Just over twenty years ago she underwent one of the most violent and complete upheavals known to history. The whole of the aristocratic governing class was destroyed, together with the royal family and the Church, and a new form of government, ruling solely in the name of the workers, was set up. At the head of the nation today, more powerful than the most powerful of the old Tsars would ever dream of being, is the man we know as Stalin. This is not his real name but it is a Russian word meaning 'man of steel' and perhaps

no description of the greatest dictator in the world could be more fitting.

South of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, lies the district of Transcaucasia. Part of this district, called Georgia, was for generations an independent kingdom, peopled by a distinctive race with black hair and eyes, speaking their own language and with their own national customs and traditions. At the beginning of the 19th century Georgia became part of the Russian Empire and was governed very harshly by her new master, so harshly in fact that it has been said that the people 'had no right save that of being tried'. It was in a little Georgian town called Gori that Stalin was born in 1879. His real name is Yosif Visarionovitch Dzhugashvili and his father was a shoe-maker who worked in a factory at Tiflis, the capital of Georgia.

He was a poor man and the house where the future master of Russia was born was poor too, built mainly of wood, fronted by a roughly cobbled alley. Yosif's mother was determined that the boy should have as good an education as possible, so she sent him first to the village school at Gori and then, at the age of fifteen, to the Orthodox Theological College at Tiflis. Like Mustafa Kamal, Stalin was intended for the priesthood. It is very interesting to notice too what a great influence the mothers of men like Stalin, Kamal and Hitler have had on the early training of their famous sons. Stalin's mother has remained a simple peasant woman who lives

in Georgia and is unable to grasp how important 'Soso' (her name for Stalin) has become.

The boy spent four years at the College, four rather unhappy years on the whole. He did not like the methods of the priests, who were always on the look-out for signs of revolt amongst the students. Stalin tells us himself that they were subjected to the most despotic methods there. Spying was the general rule. At 9 o'clock the bell called them to breakfast. When they returned they discovered that, while they were at table, all their cupboards had been searched and turned upside down. There were good reasons for this spying, as amongst the students were groups with ideas far different from those the priests wished to teach. Some were nationalists, wishing to see Georgia freed from Russia once again, others were what we might call 'liberals', wishing to see the whole empire free from tyranny, while others were 'communists', wishing to overthrow the whole capitalist system and establish another in which the workers should be supreme. It was to this last group that Stalin belonged and it is generally believed that he was expelled from the College in 1898 at the age of nineteen because of his communist activities amongst the students, although it is also said that his mother withdrew him for reasons of health. Whatever the real reason, from that time onwards he was an extreme communist and revolutionary. For the next nineteen years he laboured without ceasing for the day when his ideals could be realized, laboured with great difficulty, facing

imprisonment, exile and cruelty but never once faltering.

He joined the Tiflis branch of the Social-Democratic Workers Party and quickly began to sow the seeds of revolution amongst the workers of the city. He helped to organize strikes and showed great courage and daring, as for example his reply to a police officer who threatened to shoot at a crowd of railway strikers which he was leading, 'You do not frighten us. We will disperse when our demands have been satisfied.' Soon things were made too hot for the young revolutionary in Tiflis and there began that long battle of wits between himself and the police which lasted right up to 1917. He had to travel secretly and to depend upon friends in the party for food and clothing. In fact it might be said that all his work was 'underground' from this time onwards. He went to southern Georgia and everywhere he went he created discontent amongst the workers. In 1902 he was caught by the 'Okhrana' (the Secret Police) while talking in a friend's house. 'It's nothing' he said when he heard the police on the stairs, and calmly went on smoking. Needless to say he was imprisoned and even succeeded in organizing a strike amongst the prisoners. The authorities then deported him to a prison camp in far-off Siberia from which he quickly and cleverly escaped. He was actually sent five times in all to Siberia within the next fifteen years and he managed to escape every time except the last, when the 1917 revolution freed him. It is said

that he contracted tuberculosis when a young man but that he was cured by living in the intense cold of Siberia during one of his imprisonments there.

So his life went on, a constant stream of danger, really hard work and exciting adventure. Before long the Social Democratic Party split into two sections. One section, the Mensheviks, wished to go slowly, to work for reform of the system under which they were living. The other, the Bolsheviks, would have none of this. Their aim was the complete overthrow of the system, a fierce unceasing war against the ruling classes. The Bolsheviks were led by Lenin and it was to this man and party that Stalin gave his whole-hearted support. He was willing to go to any lengths to gain his ends. He was and always will be violent and ruthless if necessary. In 1907, in Tiflis, the party needed money and Stalin organized a conspiracy which led to the bombing of a shipment of currency coin, the killing of twenty men and the stealing of some £15,000. In 1905 the Bolsheviks had staged a rising against the government which was an utter failure. Many of the leaders, including Lenin, fled abroad but Stalin stayed on, carrying on his underground work between imprisonments and exile. He edited a Bolshevik paper called *Vremia* written in the Georgian language. He attended party conferences in other lands (it was impossible to hold them inside Russia), wrote a book, *Socialism and the National Question*, and somewhere about 1910 he married. We know little about his first wife, who died in 1917, but she and Stalin had a son,

now aged about 28, who does not seem to have inherited his father's ability.

Before his last exile, which began in 1913, Stalin lived a life of great activity. He seemed to be everywhere at once, inspecting branches of the party in different places in Russia, going abroad to confer with Lenin, editing the newspaper *Pravda* (Truth), battling against those members of the party who disagreed with his own extreme views. The government struck at him again in 1913; he was more dangerous than ever and this time they were determined to make no mistake. He was taken to a village called Kubi-ka, only twenty miles from the Arctic Circle, and given a special guard. For the next four years his life was one of great hardship. Cut off from the outside world, his friends and his beloved party, he spent his days hunting and fishing, with implements he himself had made, chopping wood for the very necessary fires, and writing. Release came at last, for the longed-for revolution had arrived.

Events had been moving quickly while Stalin was imprisoned in the far-off north. The Great War had started in 1914 and Russia was taking a leading part in the struggle. The country had been badly governed in time of peace and the difficulties of war made the faults of the ruling classes even more evident. The Tsar was timid and seemed unable to make important decisions. Many people, even amongst the aristocrats, were disgusted by the power he allowed the passionate monk, Rasputin, to wield, and it

was no surprise when the latter was murdered in 1916. Russia had 15 million men under arms and the government simply could not lead or feed them properly. The cost of living rose very rapidly, the Russian troops met with little success and consequently the soldiers began to desert in large numbers: there were over a million desertions in the January of 1917. Naturally the people of Russia grumbled and began to turn to the parties which wished for reform. The revolt finally came in March, 1917. The workers of Petrograd, assisted by the army and navy, rose against the government and the Social-Democratic Party was in power at last. The workers everywhere elected local councils, or 'Soviets', and they mostly chose the moderate Mensheviks as their representatives. The new central government, led first by Prince Luov and then by Kerensky, was composed of moderate reformers but they seemed bewildered by the turn of events and scarcely knew what to do. The new government was as spineless as the old.

Naturally Germany was delighted that her enemy should be thus crippled by internal revolution and realized that matters could be made worse if Lenin, leader of the extreme Bolsheviks, returned to Russia. He was in exile in Switzerland and it is said (though some writers call the story 'a fable') that Germany provided a special train across Europe for Lenin's return. He was far from pleased with the turn of events. The Mensheviks, he said, were not real revolutionaries and would get nothing done. Only the

Bolsheviks could save Russia. He quickly set to work to organize a new revolution and he was amazingly successful. On November 6th, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power in a revolt which was entirely bloodless and from their headquarters at the Smolny Institute (formerly a girls' school) their leaders faced the great task of ruling all Russia.

Stalin had been released from his imprisonment and had arrived in Petrograd at the same time as Lenin. The two had worked together very closely and in the October of 1917, before the final revolution, Stalin had been elected a member of the Politburo, the small committee at the supreme head of the Communist Party. It is interesting to note that even at this stage there were differences between Lenin and another great party leader, Trotsky. The latter wished to postpone taking action inside Russia until it was possible for the peoples of other European countries to revolt as well, since he believed that Russia could not be successfully run as a communist state until the rest of Europe was in complete sympathy.

Lenin disagreed strongly with this point of view and was backed up by Stalin, who, many years later, drove Trotsky from Russia and, as we know, has 'purged' the country from time to time of those whom he believed to be supporters of this brilliant exile. In 1917 however these differences were not acute as the Bolsheviks had an immense task to perform. The country was in a deplorable state in every way

and the first task of the new rulers was to make peace with the Central Powers. So the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed and Russia withdrew from the war. A ruthless and vigorous system of state food control and rationing ward-ed off famine and then for two years the government faced war again. The enemies of the Bolsheviks inside Russia, known as the 'Whites', raised armies to try to overthrow the government. They were helped in every possible way by men and war materials from England, France and the other allied powers, who disliked the new communist government of Russia, particularly as it had deserted them in the war.

There was fierce fighting on every hand but the communists, inspired by their ideals, fought brilliantly. Lenin schemed and worked at the centre of things; Trotsky, as supreme War Minister, showed great ability and energy. He had sixteen armies in the field and it is calculated that in visiting and organising them he covered a distance equal to four and a half times round the world. Stalin too worked and organized with his usual endurance and tenacity. Wherever a difficult job had to be done Stalin was sent to do it. He ruthlessly weeded out all who, he thought, were not fighting as hard as they could and when necessary he took part in the fighting himself. 'I am bullying and swearing at all those who need it. Rest assured, Comrade Lenin, that no one is being spared, neither myself nor anyone else,' he once telegraphed to his

leader from Northern Caucasia. It was on this occasion too that he shot a number of officers for inefficiency and imprisoned a large part of the Headquarters staff. Trotsky telegraphed a protest against such high handed methods but Stalin simply scrawled 'No attention to be paid to this' across the telegram and put it on one side. A typical story of this trying period is that Stalin, reviewing troops, came across a soldier who was surly and refused to salute, merely pointing to his feet, covered with filthy rags, and then to Stalin's strong boots. Without a word Stalin took off his boots, tossed them to the man, and then put on the soldier's dirty rags. It is said too that he continued to wear them until ordered to put on boots again by Lenin himself.

In 1920 the Bolsheviks finally beat off all their enemies and could face the task of making Russia a communist state. From the beginning Stalin had been 'Commissar for Nationalities' and it was he, along with Lenin, who worked out the scheme whereby the different districts, containing widely differing peoples (as many as 62 distinct languages are spoken) should have a form of local government, yet remain under the final control of Moscow. So there came into being the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (the correct name for modern Russia) consisting of six separate republics. Each republic, itself divided into provincial, district and town soviets, sends representatives to the Union Congress of Soviets, at the head of which (like a cabinet) is

the Central Committee of Commissars. Needless to say all this tremendous organization was not created at once, and without the binding power of the Bolshevik or Communist Party nothing much would have been done. In 1921, Stalin was given by Lenin the post of secretary of the party and from that date onward he made his position secure. He and Lenin worked hard to bring a pure state of communism into being; all those who opposed their plans were ruthlessly dealt with. Trotsky was still pressing for their efforts to be extended to other countries but his views met with little favour. Lenin himself was seriously ill throughout 1922 and it was clear that an opportunity would soon arise for a new leader. It is difficult to decide the truth about the relations between Lenin and Stalin at this time. Some say that Lenin grew unfriendly because he thought that Stalin was intriguing and planning to succeed him. Others hold that Lenin chose Stalin as his successor because of his great ability. At all events when Lenin died in January 1923, Stalin and Zinoviev (another member of the Politburo) carried his coffin, and it was Stalin who eventually took the great leader's place. His methods were crafty, cunning and, when necessary, violent. He was content to be slow and patient but, bit by bit, he struck at his opponents, particularly Trotsky. He had the great advantage that he could always claim to be the true disciple of Lenin (who became almost god-like to the Russians after his death), while Trotsky and the rest were accused

of betraying the great leader's views. So, by gaining complete control of the party machine, by putting his friends into every available office, Stalin became 'party boss' and supreme dictator of the Soviet Union. So strong is his position, so powerful is the compact party, that today he holds no 'government' post. He is not a commissar (cabinet member) but only a member of the central executive committee. In the party he has given up his post as Secretary-general but is only a member of the Politburo and, in theory, could be dismissed by the central committee of the party. In fact, of course, it is he who controls the elections of committee members. It is now being suggested that he should take the title of 'Vojd' (which means much the same as 'Führer') to show that he is head of the State.

It took Stalin about five years to make his power and position absolutely secure and since that time he has carried through a complete economic revolution inside the country. He determined that Russia should be economically strong and that the output of food and manufactured goods in the Union should be doubled as speedily as possible. So, in 1928, there came into being the first 'Five Year Plan' whereby this should be done. Stalin, in his book *Leninism*, says that the whole Soviet economic system is based on the fact that 'the tools and means of production, the land, the factories have been taken away from the capitalists and handed over to the working class and to the peasantry to be

used for the improvement of the material and cultural level of the workers'. There can be no doubt that the first Five Year Plan was very successful. Great mineral deposits in Siberia were opened up for use, entirely new towns were planned and built out of nothing. New industries, as for example automobile and aviation, came into being; the production of pig-iron was increased by over 80 per cent and steel by 40 per cent. Needless to say at this time, when every nerve was being strained, the workers had to undergo great hardship which they did because they felt that the result would be worth while.

The greatest difficulty which Stalin had to meet was from the peasantry. There were over 25 million separate little peasant holdings in the U.S.S.R. and Stalin's plan was to 'collectivize' them, that is, to gather these holdings into compact groups, run by a manager and worked by the peasants themselves. All live stock and crops would belong to the State, which would supply motor-tractors, etc., to work the great collective farms. The richer farmers, the 'Kulaks', were exterminated from the start and 750,000 of them lost their land and were sent to concentration camps. Stalin was thorough in his methods. By 1930 about 60 per cent of the peasant holdings had been collectivized but there was a good deal of resistance from the peasants. Rather than hand over their live stock they killed off about half of it and in 1934 Stalin (who knows when to give in) allowed each peasant to

keep as private property a cow and a few sheep and pigs. In 1932 the peasants of the Caucasus and Ukraine areas almost ruined the plan. They determined to sow their grain as usual in the following spring but to reap only enough for themselves. This was direct rebellion and Stalin was ruthless. The Government collectors simply seized what the peasants had reaped and left them to starve. There was a terrible famine and several millions of peasants died—but the revolt was over and Stalin had won. Now almost the whole of the arable land in Russia is organized into collective farms. The first Five Year Plan has been followed by similar planning; indeed much yet remains to be done. Great problems of distribution and transport still await solution but it cannot be denied that Russia has made great progress in the economic sphere.

Politically Stalin has had to meet opposition from time to time, as for example in 1934 when Kirov, one of his right-hand men, was murdered by a young Communist. This event was made the excuse for dealing with many who were suspected of lack of enthusiasm for the government. Over a hundred people were shot as a warning, while many thousands were sent to Siberia. There can be no denying the fact that Stalin has been merciless in stamping out any signs of disagreement: the triumph of communism is the one thing in the world that matters to him.

Stalin has remained a simple man. When in Moscow he lives in three rooms in the Kremlin

and gets through an enormous amount of work. He spends a good deal of time at his country villa which is about an hour's distance by car from Moscow. The villa and estate are surrounded by a ten-foot wall, built by a former owner, and it is significant that Stalin has allowed the wall to remain; in fact the villa itself is heavily guarded. Portraits of Stalin abound in Moscow as indeed they do in the whole Union. Everyone is familiar with the face and figure of the leader in his simple dress of dark green jacket, buttoned to the neck, rough cloth cap, riding breeches and long-boots. Needless to say this style of dressing has been much copied by admiring party members. Those who have met him describe him as quite calm and jovial, always smoking his favourite pipe and drinking in moderation. He lives with an entire absence of fuss and with no pomp and ceremony around him. Personal tragedy has touched him as his young wife, Nadya, whom he married in 1919 died of peritonitis in 1932. He has two children of this second marriage, a boy Vassily, now aged sixteen and a girl Svetlana aged eleven, and they attend the ordinary State schools like other children. The Communists have realized the tremendous value and importance of education and have provided thousands of schools and made great advances, particularly in technical education. Good engineers and scientists are urgently required for the progress that is yet to be made.

A word must be said about the attitude of the

rest of the world to the new Russia. At first, as we have seen, she was regarded with suspicion and hatred. Most European countries were afraid that she would encourage revolution all over the world and the 'Whites' had the assistance of the British, French, Japanese and American governments. As time went on, and especially as the activities of the Comintern (a body aiming at world-wide communism) were stopped after the final break between Trotsky and Stalin in 1927, the situation changed. Normal relations were resumed and in 1933, after Hitler's rise to power in Germany, France felt the need of a powerful ally. In September 1934, at France's request, Russia joined the League of Nations and has ever since been one of its most important members. In May 1935 the Franco-Russian Pact was signed, each power pledging assistance to the other if attacked by a third. Two years before this, in 1933, the American government had recognized Russia officially. Russia herself wants peace. She has nothing to gain from war but recognizes the fact that Germany is the danger. The leaders of the Nazi party are constantly making attacks on Stalin and on the whole communist system. Nor is Stalin slow to answer. 'Those who try to attack our country,' he wrote in 1934, 'will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their nose into our Soviet garden.'

Stalin is surrounded by able men in the party; the communist system is firmly established and will certainly survive his death. It is doubtful

whether any moves in the direction of democracy will succeed—the party is more important than the individual and the party, in practice, is the State. Meanwhile ruling party and state with firmness is the village-born boy from Gori—‘the man with a scholar’s mind, a workman’s face, and the dress of a private soldier’.

VII
MUSSOLINI



[Photo : Central News

MUSSOLINI

MUSSOLINI

Before the Great War of 1914-18 Italy was generally considered to be a second class power. In fact she had only very recently become a unified nation, as it was in 1861 that the kingdom of Italy came into being. The gaining of Venetia from Austria after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the occupation of Rome in 1870, when the French garrison had to leave on account of the Franco-Prussian war, completed the boundaries of the newly-formed state and gave her back the ancient capital. To-day Italy is stronger than ever before, important in the eyes of the world, victor in a war which has resulted in an expanded colonial empire—all the work and achievement of the man whose face and figure one generally calls instantly to mind when the word 'dictator' is mentioned, Benito Mussolini. In many respects the dictatorship in Italy is unique, particularly as the monarchy and monarch still remain; the King, in name at least, is still head of the Italian State. Ataturk was President of the Turkish Republic, Hitler is Chancellor of the German Republic, both heads of state. Mussolini in theory is still the servant of his King. He has, in fact, three offices; he is the 'Duce', the leader, of the Fascist Party, the head of the Grand Fascist Council, which is the chief organ of government, and prime minister.

With these three offices combined in his own person he is, of course, supreme.

He was born in 1883 at a little hamlet called Varano di Costa and it is interesting to note that his father named him after Benito Juarez, the Mexican revolutionary who was responsible for the execution of the Emperor Maximilian. His father, Alessandro, was a blacksmith, although his immediate ancestors had been peasants and tillers of the soil. Mussolini himself claims that his family is very ancient and traces it back at least to the late 13th century, when one Eiovanni Mussolini was leader of the city of Bologna. Whatever may have been their former glories, when Benito was born his family was very poor, and for many years he slept on a bundle of hay instead of a mattress. His father was very interested in the politics of his day and was a kind of village agitator, and the boy was brought up in an atmosphere of political discussion. He had (in common with the other dictators of to-day) a great love for his mother, Rosa, who had been a school teacher, and who was determined that her boy should have as good an education as possible. He first went to a village school about two miles from his home and had rather a hard time of it as the village boys there did not like the young stranger. A little later (like Stalin and Kamal) he went to a school run by priests at the town of Faenza and then returned to help his father in the blacksmith's shop. But Rosa, his mother, was far from satisfied. 'He promises something' was her constant cry about

the boy and in the end she had her way. Benito was sent to a 'normal school' at Forlì and after six years' work, to which he did not always apply himself, he gained his teacher's diploma.

Mussolini did not like teaching; it was altogether too cramping a profession for one of his adventurous character. After a year's teaching at Eualten, where he received a salary equal to forty-five shillings a month, he decided to leave his profession and his country and to try his luck in Switzerland. He was nineteen when he crossed the frontier. He had an extremely difficult time and took on all sorts of odd jobs in order to earn a living. He worked as a labourer, in a factory and as a mason but he was often starving. He was helped by another exile in Switzerland, a Madame Balabanov, a Russian revolutionary and, both from her and from his own very wide reading, he took on extreme socialist ideas. He took courses of lectures at Lausanne, addressed political meetings and very soon got into trouble with the police because of his extreme views. He was expelled, first from Geneva and then from Lausanne, and in all he was arrested eleven times and spent various terms in prison.

In 1904, after an uncomfortable two years, he returned to Italy, as fiery a socialist as could be found in the country. He did his period of compulsory military service with the regiment known as the 'Bersaglieri', distinguished by the green cock feathers worn in their hats, and he seems to have made quite a good soldier. It

was a great blow to him when his mother died and he felt her loss very keenly for a long time. After another unhappy period as a teacher, he at last found the work he loved best of all—he became a journalist. There seems no doubt that Mussolini was, and indeed is, a really first-rate journalist and newspaper man. Stalin schemed and Ataturk fought his way to power; Mussolini certainly *wrote* his way. In 1909 he became editor of a local socialist newspaper, *Ia Lotta di Classi* (the 'Class Struggle'), in Foli and his vigorous writings soon made him known to and popular with all the socialists in Italy. His father died just before he took on a much bigger job three years later. In 1912, at the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party, he was selected as editor of *Avanti*, the daily newspaper which was the party's official organ. He worked extremely hard in Milan, the headquarters of the paper, and after a few months its circulation went up to over one hundred thousand. He found much to attack in the Italy of that time. The conquest of Tripoli had meant a huge cost to the country which was never economically strong; wages were low and hours long and there were constant riots; the middle classes did not seem to be able to cope with the situation and there were frequent changes of Government. In 1914 Mussolini helped to organize a socialist rising in the Romagna but this was a failure.

1914 also meant war. Suddenly Mussolini became a fervent nationalist; he wished to see Italy, proud in her strength as a nation, taking

her part in the war. 'I am desperately Italian, he wrote later. Perhaps too his love of adventure, that virile aggressiveness which one can see in every line of his face, was leading him on. For a long time Italy wavered. The workers and the Socialist party were desperately anxious for Italy to take no part in it and two months after the war began Mussolini gave up the editorship of *Avanti*. Shortly afterwards he was expelled from the Socialist Party and shouted to his former comrades, 'You hate me because you still love me', when they howled him down as he tried to speak to them. Mussolini was not silenced. 'I needed a daily paper. I hungered for one,' he tells us and his need was soon supplied. Helped by a few friends and by French money (for France was anxious for Italian help) he took a few garret-like rooms in a narrow street in Milan and began to publish his new venture, the *Popolo d'Italia*. He still directs this paper and calls it 'my most cherished child'. Even at that time he could organize other things than newspapers and he created a group of young Socialists and University students to forward his ideas. This group he called the 'Fascisti', but they have no connection, other than leadership, with the Fascist party of later days. The policy which Mussolini supported eventually triumphed and Italy entered the war in 1915 on the side of the Allied Powers. He himself was called up to join his regiment of Bersaglieri, but does not seem to have gone to the fighting line until December 1916. After less than two months in

the trenches he was badly wounded by the explosion of one of the Italian mortars and according to his own account suffered indescribable pain and had forty-four pieces of the grenade removed from his body, undergoing twenty-seven operations, most of them without an anaesthetic, in a month. Back in Milan it was quite clear that he would no longer take an active part in the fighting and he resumed his work on the *Popolo d'Italia*.

By this time Mussolini was an even more fiery nationalist than before and his articles were strong calls for unity in the face of the enemy. It is significant that he pleaded, amongst other things, for the suppression of Socialist newspapers. His break with his old party was now quite complete. His nationalist pride received a terrific shock when the Italians were severely defeated by the Austrian army at Caporetto in October 1917, and his newspaper campaign was waged with redoubled energy. He tells us that he wrote with a 'fiery style'. Caporetto was avenged exactly a year later and the war ended for Italy on a victorious note. But in Mussolini's eyes the victory was an empty one. He was shocked by the quarrels of the politicians, by the divisions amongst his countrymen, by the way in which the ex-soldiers, who had brought such glory to the name of Italy, were treated on their return. He considered that Italy had been badly let down by the Allied powers at the Peace Conference in Paris as Dalmatia was not to be joined to Italy after all. He was furiously angry with

the Italian politicians for giving way. The government, he says, 'forgot our 600,000 dead and our million wounded. It made waste of their generous blood'. Mussolini determined to take some definite action to stop what he called 'the stumbling career towards chaos'. He advertised in the *Popolo d'Italia* a meeting of what he called the Italian 'Fasci di combattimento', a movement to fight against the 'forces dissolving Victory and Nation'. The meeting was held in a hall belonging to the Milan Association of Merchants and Shopkeepers, which only gave permission on condition that there should be no noise or disorder. There was only a fair attendance and in the end only fifty-four people joined the new movement. A leading Italian newspaper dismissed the whole episode with a twenty-line report. Very slowly the movement gathered strength and groups were formed in all the big towns, generally with the local correspondent of the *Popolo d'Italia* as leader. A central committee in Milan, with Mussolini as chief, was in control of the whole movement.

Soon came an event which roused the leader to fury. The city of Fiume, which was mainly Italian, had been put under international control at the end of the war, and in September 1919, Gabriel d'Annunzio, the Italian patriot and poet, captured and held it with a force of volunteers. The Italian government, under Nitti, disowned d'Annunzio and actually sent troops to drive him out of the city. Mussolini considered d'Annunzio to be a great hero and the Italian government

not only weak but treacherous. Soon there came an opportunity to test the strength of his movement and to gauge what following he had in the country as a whole. A general election was held in November 1919 and Mussolini himself, along with many other Fascists, stood as a candidate. They were all defeated; the Socialists were delighted and *Avanti*, the paper which Mussolini had once edited, was satirical. 'A dead body has been fished up from the Naviglio (a canal) it said—the dead body of Benito Mussolini, his political corpse.'

It looked for a time as if the Fascist movement was doomed but Mussolini hung grimly on. He pulled the party together again, travelling by air and road to various conferences and meetings. In 1920 the unrest inside the country continued and there were numerous strikes; clashes between the workers and the Fascists became a regular occurrence. In fact, from this time onward disorder and fighting, which the regular police were powerless to prevent, were common. Though they claimed to be the enemies of disorder the Fascists undoubtedly did much at this time to add to the chaos and trouble inside Italy. The Socialists were their particular targets, and beatings and the forcible administration of castor-oil were favourite methods of dealing with them. Of course Fascists too came to grief in these struggles and today they are glorified as martyrs to their cause. 1921 was a terrible year inside Italy. The country was in a very disturbed condition. The Fascists continued their policy of

violence and then accused the government of failing to keep order. They were growing in strength and importance too. Many ex-service men, attracted by the fiercely nationalist policy of the party, and many young men, attracted by the sense of adventure and discipline it promised, joined the swelling ranks. The black-shirt worn by the members gave them a military character, while their symbol of the 'Fasces', the bound bundle of rods carried by the Roman lictors in days of old, cleverly suggested strength through unity and linked the party with the glorious days of the past. Mussolini laid down once again the main demands of the party in 1921. These included a revision of the peace treaties, the definite annexation of Fiume to Italy and the guardianship of Italians living in Dalmatia. They also spoke of the necessity for building up friendly relations with the people of the Near and Far East, the founding of Italian colonies in the Mediterranean Sea and an extremely vague reference to the 'development of our productive forces at home'. No indication was given as to how the Fascists proposed to do this; indeed they had no definite economic programme at all. The movement was spending all its energies on an attempt to win power; that was the first great objective. The bands of Fascists with castor-oil and clubs continued their activities. For a very short while in 1921 Mussolini himself thought they were going too far and actually resigned the leadership of the party for a brief time. He was soon in command again and in a great whirl

of activity, for it must be remembered that he was still a very active journalist, managing and editing the *Popolo d'Italia*. He also found time to take flying lessons (one can easily imagine how adventure in the air would appeal to one of his character) and his machine crashed one morning when he and his tutor were landing. His injuries were slight but he records how gratified he was by the large number of sympathetic messages which flowed in from all over the country. The elections of 1921 proved conclusively how Fascism was gaining ground as Mussolini himself and thirty-four other members of the party were elected to Parliament. In 1919, Mussolini had received 4,000 votes—this time he got 178,000.

In his first session in Parliament Mussolini spoke little, making only five speeches, but he fought two duels as he was proud of his prowess as a swordsman. His activities as a journalist took him for one of his now rare visits out of Italy. In January 1922 he went to the Inter-Allied Conference at Cannes to represent his paper and obtained interviews with some of the leading politicians of the day. His journey to Cannes also brought him face to face with a humiliating fact; his brother Arnaldo went to change 10,000 lire into francs for the expenses of the trip. He returned with only 5,200 francs and Mussolini was angered when he realized that Italian money was worth little more than half its value in terms of French currency. Meanwhile in the Italian Parliament ministries were made and fell with monotonous regularity. No one

party seemed to be able to command a sufficient majority for very long. In the May of 1922 there was a General Strike and some months later this was followed by another. Needless to say the Fascists did not lose their opportunities. The 'squadristi', fighting gangs, attacked socialists and workers while others tried to run such public services as the trams. In Milan they burned the offices of *Avanti* the Socialist newspaper. The Fascists were consulted regarding the formation of a new government but Mussolini would not accept any office but the chief. He toured Italy organizing and testing the feelings of his followers, and soon he was ready—his plans for the March on Rome were complete. He now felt that his party was sufficiently powerful to seize the reins of power by force. What he intended to do with his power was another matter; obtaining the power was the thing that came first.

In September 1922, a Fascist conference in Naples, though on the surface it consisted of the usual marching and speech-making, was in reality the beginning of mobilization. Along with De Bono, De Vecchi, Balbo and Bianchi, Mussolini made his plans with great thoroughness. It was arranged that in the cities at a given signal, post-offices, police headquarters, barracks, etc., which may be regarded as the 'nerve-centres' of Italy, should be occupied. The headquarters were to be at Perugia, in Umbria, which had the advantage of being within easy striking distance of Rome and at the same time convenient for an

easy line of retreat to the Po valley in case the whole rising was a failure. A good deal of time at the conference was spent in aimless speeches in order to give time for the organization going on behind the scenes. Finally, arrangements completed, Mussolini returned to Milan and the editorial chair of the *Popolo d'Italia*. At the end of October he gave the signal ; through his paper and by means of proclamations to all the other newspapers, he issued his call to revolution. This historical document began :

‘Fascisti ! Italians !

‘The time for determined battle has come’. It went on to declare that the Fascist party was going to seize power and march on Rome. It informed the army and police that they must keep themselves apart from the struggle which was only directed against the weak governing class. It informed the ‘productive class’ (presumably the employers of labour) that they need fear nothing, as the party only wished to impose order and discipline on the nation, and likewise the workers were assured that their just rights would be protected. The document ended, ‘Fascisti of all Italy ! Stretch forth like Romans your spirits and your fibres ! We must win ! We will ! Long live Italy ! Long live Fascism !’

Needless to say neither police nor soldiers everywhere submitted to the occupation of their quarters, and bloodshed quickly followed the proclamation of the rising which took place as planned. In Milan the Fascists quickly made an

armistice with the military authorities ; on the 28th October responsible political leaders pleaded with Mussolini to call a halt to the civil war but the leader was not to be moved. Facta, President of the Council and leader of the Liberal ministry in power, issued an appeal to the people to remain calm and loyal to the government. He wished to proclaim martial law throughout the country but the King would not agree. Facta resigned with his cabinet and then followed a period of uncertainty and compromise. Meanwhile the Fascisti continued to concentrate for their march on Rome as arranged and on the afternoon of October 29th, the King took the course that Mussolini hoped for. A telephone call came through to Milan asking him to go to Rome and form a ministry. It was the very thing he had hoped for but he was extremely suspicious. He feared that it might be a trick and asked for confirmation by telegram. This was speedily forthcoming and on the night of October 31st, Mussolini handed over his paper to his brother Arnaldo. The editor had at last become the statesman.

After reviewing the assembled Fascists at Santa Marinella, near the capital, Mussolini hastened into Rome and, wearing his black shirt, interviewed the King. Needless to say he agreed to form a ministry and it is characteristic of his suspicion and shrewdness that he made it a coalition. He was far from sure that he was actually strong enough to proclaim a dictatorship ; he had 50,000 Fascists assembled near Rome but he

was as yet uncertain if, for example, the army would support him. Actually the 'march on Rome' turned into a mere parade of the assembled Fascists who were then ordered to return quietly home. Mussolini wished to feel his way before taking further steps. His ministry consisted of fifteen members of the Fascist Party and fifteen members drawn from what we may describe as parties of the Right. It is characteristic of Mussolini that he immediately sent a telegram to all Prefects and lesser authorities inside the country. 'I demand that all authorities, from the highest to the least, discharge their duty with intelligence and with complete yielding to the supreme interests of the country. I will give the example.' On November 16th 1922, Mussolini asked for, and obtained by 306 votes to 166, full powers from the Chamber of Deputies. From that day to this he has been in command in Italy.

What has he done for his country during the past sixteen years? First it is necessary to realize that, as he gathered the powers of State completely into his hands, he gradually shed the members of the parties of the Right from his ministry. He had no intention of disbanding the fighting bands of Fascisti which had raised him to power and in a short while he transformed them into a National Militia on a voluntary basis. He created straightway a body called the Fascist Grand Council to prepare new legislation and to give him advice on the many technical problems which he had to face. Today the Grand Council

is the supreme organ of government, having superseded the now docile parliament. We have already mentioned that, as its head, Mussolini has supreme power over legislation. In 1923, after unifying the police forces of the country and forcibly disbanding the old Royal Guards, he united with the Fascists a body called the Nationalists ('Blue-shirts') which had almost similar aims. Of course the Liberal and Socialist parties still existed and were constant critics of the new government. Throughout the country there were frequent clashes between the Socialists and the Fascists. In April 1924, Mussolini felt certain enough to hold elections and emerged victorious by five million votes in his favour to two millions cast for his opponents. The fight in the new parliament still continued for we must remember that democratic forms still existed. A crisis developed which almost meant the breaking up of Fascism. One of the most prominent Socialist deputies and bitterest critics of the Fascist government was Matteotti, and one day he disappeared from Rome. Later his dead body was discovered beneath a hedge near the city and there was no doubt that he had been murdered. It was fairly clear that he had been murdered by Fascists because of his ceaseless attacks, and immediately a wave of feeling against the party set in all over Italy. Matteotti became a martyr, more especially when it was admitted by the government that Fascists definitely were responsible for the murder. Mussolini faced the situation boldly; he admitted the truth of what

had happened and himself took full responsibility in a Parliamentary speech on January 3rd, 1925. He bluntly stated that such events were necessities if Fascism was to triumph. The Fascists (many of whom had begun to desert the party) rallied again round their leader and the crisis, a very real one, was over. Attempts on Mussolini's life in 1926 further added to his popularity and he was able to abolish completely the political newspapers which were opposed to him. In fact by the end of 1926 Mussolini definitely established a personal dictatorship (backed by the Fascist party) and all pretence of democratic government was over. An announcement in the press on November 11th made that fact quite clear. 'All political parties, all anti-Fascist political organizations and others of a suspected character have been dissolved.' From that time onward both houses of Parliament became comparatively unimportant, since all opposition was silenced, and the real organ of government has been the Fascist Grand Council.

Mussolini's plans as to what he was going to do in Italy when he obtained power were extremely vague. He (unlike Hitler later) had no definite economic programme to put into operation and so what he has done has necessarily been invented and developed with the passage of time. In the economic sphere, as in the political, it is the State which is all important.

On April 21st, 1927, the Grand Council passed the 'Charter of Labour', which was a document describing the new State organization, the

"Corporative State', which was to replace all out of date systems. This Charter however, was extremely vague and the idea it put forward of the whole of Italian industrial and economic life being controlled by 'corporations' (representing both employers and employees) took a long time to work out. Indeed only by the end of 1934 were the corporations finally set up and even to-day the whole organization is in its early stages. Briefly the system is as follows: The State allows both private property and private profits to exist but under very strict control by the State. Both employers' and employees' unions ('syndicates' closely supervised by the Fascist party), are united into corporations of which there are twenty-two covering the whole field of Italian business, industrial and professional life. It is from these corporations that the members of the House of Deputies (the lower house of Parliament) are chosen; the electors do not vote for individuals but simply say 'Yes' or 'No' to a list submitted to them by the authorities. Thus the capitalistic system of private profit remains intact, although the profits are subject to high taxation, while the workers have no trade unions nor the right to strike, as weapons with which to bargain. It is much too early to say yet whether the Fascist organization of the Corporative State has solved the problems of the relationship between employers and employed. Certainly the standard of living of the workers has not been raised. It must be remembered that Italy is a country predominantly agricultural and lacking

the raw materials of industry. For example, over ninety per cent of its coal and all its oil has to be imported and paid for. Mussolini wished Italy to be a great power and the cost of this had to be met; it is little to be wondered at that taxation is high and wages small.

This leads us to Mussolini's achievements in the field of foreign affairs. We have seen how, from the beginning, he emphasized that his policy was to make Italy great and respected among the nations of the world. Up to 1935 he had succeeded in some measure, but he had done nothing spectacular. There were other reasons which made a definite achievement in foreign policy almost a necessity. Things were not going well inside Italy; there was discontent amongst the workers for reasons we have already mentioned; there was discontent amongst some of the Fascists themselves as they were disappointed with progress in economic affairs. Something big had to be done to take the minds of the people off their internal affairs. The government was in need of prestige and glory. Mussolini's solution was direct and simple. He manufactured the Abyssinian war. Despite the fact that he had helped Abyssinia to enter the League of Nations in 1923 and had made a treaty in 1928, wherein Italy and Abyssinia promised each other 'constant peace and perpetual friendship', he deliberately provoked a quarrel at the end of 1934. Abyssinia immediately appealed to the League of Nations which did its best to bring about a settlement. After pretending that he would negotiate

a settlement in order to gain time Mussolini ordered the invasion of Abyssinia to begin on October 2nd, 1935. World opinion was shocked; the Council of the League condemned Italy a few days afterwards and a month later applied some mild economic sanctions—that is cut off certain supplies to Italy. Neither France nor England was too enthusiastic, the former because she was afraid of Germany, and again a settlement was proposed by M. Laval and Sir Samuel Hoare, by which a large portion of Abyssinia would have been ceded to Italy. This idea found no favour in England; Hoare was dropped from the government and Eden took his place. Mussolini successfully defied the League; after an uncertain start and the recall of Marshal de Boño, by April 1936 the Italian troops were near Addis Ababa, the Abyssinian capital, and on May 1st the Abyssinian emperor left the country. On May 9th, King Victor Emmanuel was declared Emperor of Abyssinia. Mussolini had triumphed completely; he had obtained all the glory he required and had defied the League of Nations which, in fact, never recovered from the blow. The Fascist regime was more secure in the saddle than ever before. At a meeting of the Council of the League in July sanctions against Italy were withdrawn.

Since that date the direction of Italian policy has been clear. Mussolini has had to recognize the tremendous growth of German power, though such growth was little to his liking. He has been forced however to come to terms with

Hitler and the best illustration of the strength of the 'Rome-Berlin Axis' (as their friendship is called) is the fact that Mussolini stood aside and allowed Hitler to seize Austria at the beginning of 1938, in marked contrast to his firm stand on behalf of this country in 1934. The two dictators have in common helped the Spanish rebels under General Franco, while Mussolini has encouraged the Arabs in their attempts at rebellion in Palestine. Great Britain has tried to gain Italian good-will in the Mediterranean and brought about an Anglo-Italian agreement in April, 1938. The pact, which covers most of the points at issue, was ratified on November 15th after Italy had withdrawn some of her troops from Spain. By the terms of this pact Great Britain has finally recognised Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, although France still withholds that recognition.

This much is certain ; Mussolini has definitely become a 'world statesman' and has made his country of great account in world affairs. Of course Italy withdrew from the League of Nations after the Abyssinian affair.

It is held by some observers that the present system of government in Italy will not survive the passing of 'Il Duce' and that at least great changes will take place when he ceases to be in control. He certainly has no colleagues who can compare with him in ability ; any party leader who was obviously a rival of Mussolini has been removed, as for example Marshal Balbo, who since 1933 has been exiled as governor of Libya. On the other hand Mussolini is said to have pre-

pared a list of names to be submitted to the King when he (the Duce) dies, from which his successor is to be chosen. It is doubtful if a second Mussolini can be found. He has many qualities which are personal. Today at the age of 55 he seems as strong and virile, as full of forceful energy as ever. He neither drinks nor smokes and has a great contempt for cards and games. 'I pity those who lose time, money and sometimes all of life itself in the frenzy of games.' At the same time he has a great belief in keeping fit and still loves riding, fencing and swimming. He lives most simply, mainly on fruit, and has even given up attending the theatre in order to devote himself to his work. He is exceptionally neat and tidy in all his work and an ideal leader in that he makes his decisions clearly and with no waste of time. He is probably the best educated and most cultured of the dictators today. His reading is very wide and he keeps well up with all modern movements in literature and philosophy. It is characteristic too that he has made perfect his knowledge of German and French and added a knowledge of English to his other achievements. He never forgets that he was once a journalist and has continued to use the newspapers of the world as a means of making known his views. He has given many interviews to newspaper reporters, but has always insisted on seeing the proof of the articles before they are published!

Mussolini now lives in a villa in a suburb of Rome and daily travels by car to the Palazzo

Venezia to work. The room in the Palazzo where he works is world-famous ; it is a huge apartment forty feet high and sixty feet long with Mussolini's desk in the middle. It is fairly certain that he will rule Italy from that room for some years to come ; his prestige has grown at great speed since 1934 and it is on prestige that dictators and dictatorships thrive.

